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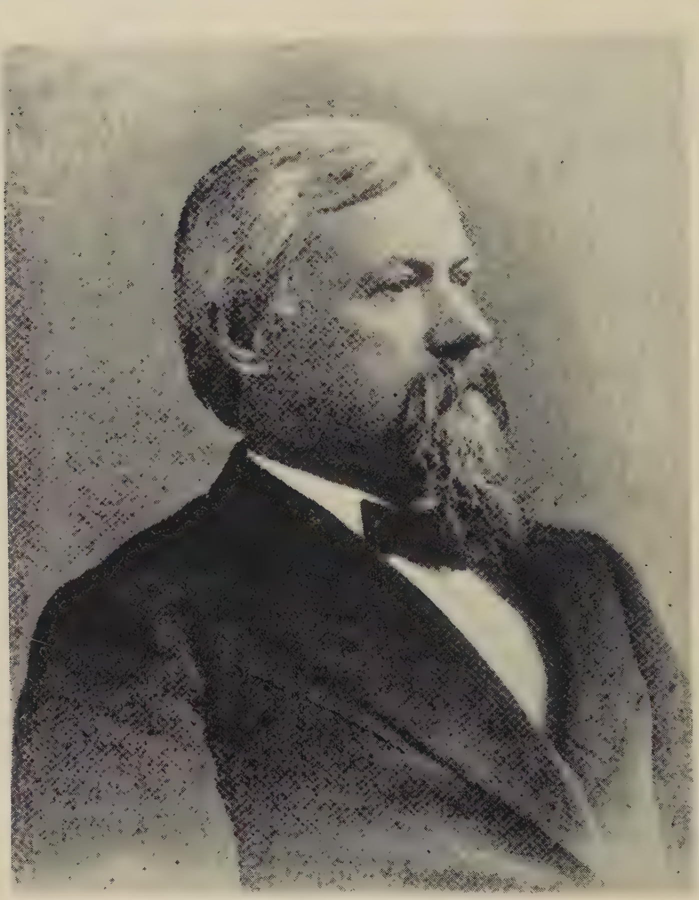

ANTON ROMAN

Reproduced from the *Overland Monthly*, XL (Sept. 1902), p. 205

Anton Roman

Argonaut of Books

By Madeleine B. Stern

IN December of 1851, a bearded miner with thick hair and a prominent nose might have been seen strolling about San Francisco.[1] In Brenham Place on the west side of the plaza he paused before the bookstore of Burgess, Gilbert and Still; and, though he had no intention of making any purchases, he entered the shop. The clerk was interested in his visitor's tales of the miners at Scott Bar, whence he had come. More particularly, he showed an extreme fondness for books; and in short order the conversation between miner and clerk culminated in a business transaction whereby over a hundred ounces of gold dust, the current earnings of the miner's share of a claim on Scott Bar, were exchanged for books.[2] Though neither the clerk nor the miner was probably aware of it, that little transaction opened an important page in the history of bookselling and publishing on the west coast.

The miner's name was Anton Roman. Born in Bavaria some twenty-three years before, he had migrated to America in his youth and in 1849 crossed the plains to California. He had joined the gold seekers on the Trinity at Weaverville, along the Klamath, in Siskiyou, and in the northern regions of Shasta, striking rich diggings at Scott Bar. Roman had washed more than dust from the sand at Scott Bar, however. He had lived among traders and prospectors, had worked the rich placers, had been on hand at the Scott Bar decision between rival mining groups, had seen a claim opened and gold extracted with iron spoons, and he had seen pans filled with solid gold; but he had observed, too, the bustling camps, the stores, the saloons, the hotels, and had pocketed a fund of mining anecdotes along with his gold, anecdotes with which he would one day regale a young writer named Bret Harte.[3]

A PEDDLER'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE MINING CAMPS

At the moment, Roman's problem was to dispose not of anecdotes but of books. During the winter months in the Shasta mining region, he knew that prospectors could be induced to exchange their gold for reading matter, and so Anton Roman peddled his wares from camp to camp, with such success that he soon decided to abandon mining for migratory bookselling.[4] From Eureka he moved on to Shasta City, during the golden period when the town was almost as proud of its stores as of its diggings. In the *Shasta Courier* of March 12, 1853,[5] Roman inserted an advertisement of his Shasta Book Store, opposite El Dorado Hotel, where new books might be purchased wholesale and retail, and where might be found at all times

> a large and splendid assortment of Books and Stationery . . . at the lowest prices.

> Among the late works just received are the following: The Necromances, Parricide... Fair Rosamond, Amy Lawrence, Mad Cap... Stanley Thorn... &c. Also, the works of Shakspeare, Byron, Milton, Gray, Campbell and other distinguished poets. All the latest newspapers, both home and foreign, constantly on hand.

In addition, musical instruments were available at the Shasta Book Store, for the proprietor had "just received an assortment of . . . Flutes, Flagelets, Clarionets," as well as note and song books and violin and guitar strings. A. Roman hoped, "by strict attention to his business, to merit a continuance of the patronage heretofore bestowed on him," and his hopes were realized, for by the fall of 1853 his purchases in books and stationery for the three counties of Shasta, Trinity, and Siskiyou amounted to $42,000. It was apparently simpler to extract gold dust from a miner than from a mine.

ROMAN SETS UP HIS STAND IN SAN FRANCISCO

It was not until 1857 that Roman left the northern counties, and, having purchased a large stock of standard and miscellaneous books in the eastern cities, set up his stand in San Francisco. His trade covered about a dozen of the interior counties besides the city, and by 1859 he had so expanded that, with a still larger stock, he opened a permanent store on the west side of Montgomery Street, north of California.[6] The migratory bookseller had settled down, a fact to which the San Francisco *Directory* of 1860 bears evidence, for there "Anthony" Roman is listed as an "importer and wholesale bookseller" at 158 Montgomery Block and 78 and 80 Merchant.[7]

Roman had learned, in the years that had elapsed since his eventful purchase from Burgess, Gilbert and Still, that demand governs supply and that books to be bought must be needed. The books he sold, therefore, answered the requirements of a newly expanding community on the Pacific coast. The farming settlements near the seaboard were attracting immigrants; prospective settlers would want information about their new home. If books on the subject were not available, they could be printed, and Anton Roman, importer and wholesale bookseller, could enter into a new phase of his career, that of publisher.

CALIFORNIANA FOR CALIFORNIANS

One of the earliest books bearing the Roman imprint was *An Outline of the History of California, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1849*. The little paper volume consisted of an address delivered by Edmund Randolph before the Society of California Pioneers at their celebration of the tenth anniversary of the admission of the state into the Union. Printed at the Alta California Job Office, the work was published by Roman in 1860, and marked the beginning of a long line of books that were designed to instruct gold-seekers and settlers about the history and resources of their new state.[8] Roman was akin with John S. Hittell, who wrote in the preface to the first edition of his *Resources of California:*

> I undertake to write the resources of a state, which, though young in years, small in population, and remote from the chief centres of civilization, is yet known to the furthest corners of the earth, and, during the last twelve years, has had an influence upon the course of human life, and the prosperity and trade of nations, more powerful than that exerted during the same period by kingdoms whose subjects are numbered by millions.[9]

The publisher had been quick to seize the opportunity of sponsoring this book, the extended title of which was *The Resources of California, comprising Agriculture, Mining, Geography, Climate, Commerce . . . and the Past and Future Development of the State;* and his interest was justified, for it passed through several editions, a compendium by, for, and of the Californian. In the third edition of 1867, is an affidavit stating the "book is exclusively Californian in composition and manufacture," from the paper and pasteboard to the morocco, thread, and gold leaf. Through the years, Roman published similar books: Mowry's *Geography and Resources of Arizona and Sonora;* Ferris's *Financial Economy of the United States Illustrated, and Some of the Causes Which Retard The Progress of California Demonstrated; A Youth's History of California* by "Lucia Norman" [Louise Palmer Heaven]; Cremony's *Life Among the Apaches*, dedicated by the Indian fighter "To the Pioneer and Liberal Publisher, Anton Roman, The Zealous and Enterprising Friend of Literature on the Pacific Coast."[10]

GUIDES FOR PROSPECTIVE SETTLERS

By 1868 he had indeed become a pioneer publisher, who watched the expansion of the state and provided books that would inform prospective settlers of the nature of the west coast. In a prefatory note to Hutchings's *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California*, the publisher later explained his point of view:

> Since the completion and appointments of the great Overland Railway have made travelling to the Pacific Slope easy, pleasant, speedy, and safe, a general desire has arisen for information concerning its remarkable scenery, the cost of travelling, distances, hotel charges, etc.[11]

This general desire Roman fulfilled, giving to the public in well-printed volumes, bound in cloth or paper, a variety of works ranging from Morse's *Treatise on the Hot Sulphur Springs, of El Paso De Robles* to Stillman's *Seeking the Golden Fleece; A Record of Pioneer Life in California.* Not Stillman's book alone, but, metaphorically at least, all these publications were dedicated to the "Argonauts of California," who, at prices ranging from fifty cents to three dollars, could receive by mail, post-paid, the literature that would inform them of the resources of their new home. In some of these books, such as *A Sketch of the Route to California, China And Japan, via the Isthmus of Panama*, Roman's device was printed on the title-page: surmounting his initials was the grizzly bear; below them, in a significant union, the miner's pan, pick and shovel.

ROMAN'S LITERARY NUGGETS FOR MINERS

In the broader aspects of his publishing activities, Roman had not forgotten the miners.

> The rapid extension of Silver Mining enterprise, in consequence of numerous discoveries of rich and extensive silver-bearing lodes in California, . . . has excited a general desire for information of such methods of extracting Silver and Gold from the . . . ores, as are practical and adapted to our circumstances.[12]

Although the name of Frank D. Carlton, Roman's associate, appeared on the imprint of Küstel's *Nevada and California Processes of Silver and Gold Extraction*, Roman advertised and circulated the book, and, in addition, it was he who published Gregory Yale's important and authoritative *Legal Titles to Mining Claims and Water Rights, in California.* Roman had not forgotten the Scott Bar case, nor the necessity for prospectors to learn the principles governing the laws on mining property. Another volume bearing the Roman imprint was William Barstow's *Sulphurets*, designed to help miners make their own assays. Besides entering the publishing field with such works, Roman had for sale in his Montgomery bookstore a remarkable collection of volumes on minerals and their processing.[13] There miners might exchange their gold dust for manuals, and reap benefit from the transaction.

ORIENTALIA FOR CALIFORNIA'S ASIATICS

As the completion of the "great Overland Railway" stimulated the need for books on western resources in general, so the discovery of new lodes caused specialization in allied and other phases of mining. Upon the successful pioneer voyage of the Pacific Mail *SS. Colorado* to Hong Kong in 1867, a third field had become open to publishers. China was brought closer to California than ever before; and this fact, together with the presence of a great many Chinese in the state, emphasized the need for "books to enable one to understand their character."[14] This need the enterprising publisher[15] was eager to fill, his imprint appearing on A. W. Loomis's edition of *Confucius and the Chinese Classics*—the first book, by the way, printed from stereotype plates in California. As Roman declared:

> No question is more frequently asked by curious and thinking people than this: What is the literature of the Chinese? They are a reading people; then what do they read? They are a peculiar people; what has made them so? They are an unchanging people; what is it that has fixed their habits?[16]

Loomis's compilation would answer those questions, while still another work published by Roman, Lanctot's *Chinese and English Phrase Book*, was designed

> to enable all classes of citizens, especially merchants, shipmasters, contractors, families, and travelers to acquire an elementary and practical knowledge of the spoken language of the Canton dialect . . . the dialect most generally understood by all classes of Chinese immigrants on the Pacific Coast.[17]

The author—and, one might add, the publisher—had been induced to undertake the work because of "a daily increasing necessity, consequent upon the extended employment of Chinese, and the now established regular line of communication with China and Japan." In the preface to his own compilation, Loomis had stated that, to meet the demands for understanding the Chinese "... a Book Firm of this city has spared no pains or expense to bring together as complete a collection of works on China as was possible. Such as were not to be obtained at home have been ordered from abroad."[18]

The name of that book firm must have been apparent to all, for Roman had established in his Montgomery Street bookstore a section devoted to Orientalia. There one might have found Huc's *Travels in Tartary* or Davis's *China and the Chinese,* books on Yedo and Peking, or Upper and Lower Amoor, a dictionary of the Chinese language, or a tome on the Middle Kingdom.[19]

ROMAN'S BOOKS ON USES OF THE SOIL

It was not the merchants only who wished to learn something of the Asiatic industries adapted to California. The fertility of the soil along the western seaboard was attracting farmers to the coast, and for them Roman published Kendo's *Treatise on Silk and Tea Culture.* "As there is, at this time, much attention being paid to the cultivation, in this State, of many trees, shrubs and other vegetable productions heretofore only grown extensively in Japan and the Orient,"[20] Kendo's treatise was issued to acquaint the farmers of California with the requirements of the plants named in the title, and to give advice on the growing of mulberry and persimmon trees. For the more general uses of farmers, Roman added to his bookstore a section on horticulture, where they might find works on garden vegetables or greenhouses, facts about peat and grape culture, farm implements or landscape gardening. There were shelves devoted to the mysteries of beekeeping, to poultry, to horses, cattle and sheep, because the soil and climate of California were attracting homesteaders, just as its placers had attracted the men with pan and shovel.

SCHOOLBOOKS FOR THE NEW GENERATION

As the years passed, another need made itself felt among California settlers. They were raising not only horses and grapes and roses, but children, too; and Roman, enterprising and public-spirited as ever, was ready to enrich his own coffers by facilitating the education of youth. For their amusement he published the Inglenook and Golden Gate series, and textbooks for their instruction.[21] The children's stories that appeared over his imprint were adapted to, and concerned with, California. In them, Roman advertised, Californians would "recognize many familiar places and personages." "Elegantly illustrated from original designs," Roman's California juveniles rolled from the press—May Wentworth's *Fairy Tales from Gold Land,* Carrie Carlton's *Inglenook,* Clara Dolliver's *Candy Elephant*—and with them were issued such texts as Layres' *Elements of Composition*, or Carrie Carlton's *Popular Letter Writer*, "particularly adapted to the wants of California." The children's teachers were urged to call and examine the textbooks and pedagogic apparatus.

ROMAN AND THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CALIFORNIA

Less practical than treatises on mining or agriculture, of less immediate need than works on Oriental customs or school texts, books for relaxation began to find a place on Roman's crowded shelves.[22] Besides selling standard literary treasures, he himself published works of fiction, such as novels by "Laura Preston" [Louise Palmer Heaven] and Mrs. Embury; also volumes of poetry, in order to encourage native talent and to manifest to the world the possibilities of Californiana. James Linen's *Poetical and Prose Writings* included accounts of the missions of Upper California; Patterson's *Onward: a Lay of the West* sketched "a hasty picture of our great and growing West, at this period of its magical progress";[23] and the poem, *Madrona*, was "conceived and begun during a trip made by the author through the picturesque County of Sonoma."[24] The *Poems* of Charles Warren Stoddard[25] appeared in an elegant edition, illustrated by William Keith and printed by Bosqui on the finest paper, with a subscription list including nearly every well-known name in the professional and social circles of California.

OUTCROPPINGS: A TEMPEST IN A LITERARY TEAPOT

Another verse collection, published by Roman and now a bibliographical rarity, gave rise to as much excitement as the discovery of a new lode, and paved the way for a general interest in the literary enterprises of California. The story behind its publication is of extreme interest.[26] One Mary Tingley, having filled a large folder with clippings culled from periodicals, had offered the collection to Anton Roman, who held it for possible publication. Having become acquainted with Bret Harte, the publisher requested the young man to edit the collection and obtain additions to it. The arrangements between them were not very clear, for after its publication Harte was to write to Roman:

> From your remarks concerning the cost of the volume... am I to infer that you propose to recompense me from the profits of the edition? I do not think we made any agreement whatever as to the amount or manner of remuneration, but I certainly cannot consent to any that is to be *contingent* upon the success of the volume, if that is your intention.[27]

Whatever the intention, the book appeared as a small quarto, beautifully printed on fine, tinted paper, handsomely bound in cloth, priced at one dollar, and entitled *Outcroppings: Being Selections Of California Verse.* Today it is of interest as the first book with which Bret Harte was associated. In December 1865, when it first appeared, it proved of interest for another reason. "Its contents," Harte's preface explained, "have been selected partly from contributions made by local poets to the California newspapers during the past ten years, and partly from material collected three years ago for a similar volume, by Miss M. V. Tingley."[28]

That Miss Tingley objected to the work, disavowing Roman's right to use her selections, is understandable. That the poems of Ina D. Coolbrith, Emilie Lawson, B. P. Avery, J. R. Ridge, C. H. Webb, and other local littérateurs should have called down upon the head of the compiler a storm of abuse is less comprehensible today. None the less, there was "Commotion on Parnassus" when *Outcroppings* made its bow. Within two hours after its arrival was bruited abroad, a mob of poets besieged Roman's bookstore, all eager to learn whether their effusions had been immortalized among the selected gems. *Outcroppings* had become "the salient literary topic of the day." Heralded as a "beautiful specimen of typography," it was also condemned both for the geological character of its title and the limited nature of its contents. According to one paper, *Outcroppings* was "a Bohemian advertising medium for Webb, Harte & Co. As a collection of California poetry, it is beneath contempt."[29] The contempt was aired, however, and the newspapers enjoyed a field day at the expense of Roman's little gift book. "All of which," the editor astutely observed, "ought to make the volume sell."[30] It did more than that. While Ward's Furnishing Store, with tongue in cheek, issued "Outcroppings No. 2, by A Rum-Un & Co.," Hubert Howe Bancroft was quick to publish a rival anthology, *Poetry of the Pacific*. Edited by May Wentworth, this collection was, as its title indicates, more complete and ambitious in scope than Roman's undertaking. Though many of the authors were the same as in *Outcroppings*, and though their utterances paid similar tribute to such poetic staples as autumn, love, and trees, *Poetry of the Pacific* was, quantitatively at least, superior to its predecessor in the field. Decades later, Harte recalled the excitement attending the publication of *Outcroppings*, in his *My First Book;* but long before that, the anthology had spread Roman's reputation abroad and had indicated to him the interest respecting California that a native literary work might arouse. By 1868, even a Bancroft publication could declare that "the leading publishing houses in California are those of H. H. Bancroft & Co. and A. Roman & Co."[31] It was time for Anton Roman, miner, bookseller and publisher, to embark upon yet another enterprise, and to prove—if proof were needed—that California was rich not only in its natural resources but in its literary products as well.

ROMAN LAUNCHES THE *OVERLAND MONTHLY*

He himself needed no such proof. His bookselling and publishing activities had acquainted him with many of the writers of the coast. Manuscripts were constantly being submitted to him, and he was confident that abundant material, not suitable for publication in book form, would be valuable for use in a magazine. Shortly before his death, Roman explained the purposes behind his entrance into the field of magazine publishing:

> I considered the geographical position of San Francisco and California, the large extent of territory surrounding it, its immense seacoast both on the American side and across the Pacific.... Here I saw an opportunity for a magazine that would furnish information for the development of our new State and all this great territory, to make itself of such value that it could not fail to impress the West, and the East also.[32]

Financial support and advertising patronage were sought by means of the following circular (paragraphing omitted):

> A. Roman & Co. propose taking immediate steps for issuing a first-class monthly magazine, the first number to appear July 1st, 1868. The nature and character of the magazine will embrace, to the fullest extent, the commercial and social interests of California and the Pacific Coast. We ask your assistance in this enterprise in the shape of an advertisement of your business for the term of one year, which we think will fully repay you. Our intentions are to have every article original; to employ only the best talent in the country; to pay for every article; and to distribute 3000 copies monthly, until its permanent circulation reaches or exceeds this number. The rates of advertising will be $50 per page monthly, or $25 for a half page.[33]

The circular brought in contracts for advertising which would assure the magazine an income of $900 monthly for a year. With such support, and with the confidence that he himself could procure at least half the articles for the first six numbers of the magazine, Roman was ready to seek an editor.

Charles Warren Stoddard, whose *Poems* Roman had published, recommended the writer who had edited *Outcroppings* and who was then serving as secretary of the U. S. branch mint—Bret Harte. Harte entertained some doubts about the project, and, to win him over, Roman indicated, on a map of the two hemispheres in his office, the central position of San Francisco on the Pacific coast, and its potential influence upon the entire territory. The prospective editor was convinced. Harte had visited Roman at the moment when the publisher was considering a change of die for the cover. The line-cut of the grizzly now seemed too unadorned and Roman desired some alteration. Harte took out a pencil and drew two lines beneath the bear, placing it on the tracks of the Pacific Railroad. If Roman had entertained any doubts about Harte's abilities, they were dispelled by this inspired touch. Both editor and publisher were ready to proceed with a magazine that needed only a title, and this, too, was supplied by Harte, who dubbed the periodical the *Overland Monthly*.

The first number of the *Overland Monthly Devoted to the Development of the Country* appeared in July 1868. Harte's editorial section, entitled "Etc.," explained the reason for its name:

> Shall not the route be represented as well as the *termini?* And where our people travel, that is the highway of our thought... what could be more appropriate for the title of a literary magazine than to call it after this broad highway?[34]

Noah Brooks, who had agreed to serve as a joint editor with Harte and

W. C. Bartlett, contributed "The Diamond Makers of Sacramento"; B. P. Avery discussed "Art Beginnings on the Pacific"; and a poem, "San Francisco," was supplied by Harte. The section on Current Literature included the review of a Roman publication, Swift's *Going to Jericho*. The *Overland Monthly*, priced at four dollars a year, with appropriate reductions in the rates for clubs, had been launched.

ANTON ROMAN AND BRET HARTE

Perhaps one of the most interesting concomitants of the enterprise was Roman's relationship with Bret Harte. Roman wished to obtain from Harte a story for at least every other number. This plan threw publisher and editor together much of the time; and, as they journeyed by train up and down Santa Clara Valley or rode across the Santa Cruz Mountains by stagecoach, Roman shared with Harte his anecdotes and reminiscences of the gold rush, pointing out to him their literary possibilities.

The results of this association appeared in the second number of the *Overland* in the form of "The Luck of Roaring Camp." At Santa Cruz, Harte had outlined the tale to Roman, and one Sunday afternoon the duplicate galley proofs arrived on the stagecoach. Roman's wife, Eliza Fletcher Roman, read the story aloud to him until she was too affected to continue. The next day, upon his return to San Francisco, Roman was greeted by his chief clerk with the announcement that the proofreader, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, had objected to the immorality of "The Luck." Roman decided to print the story, none the less, and it became the sensation of the day.[35] By October 1868, Harte could write in "Etc.":

> The prophet has been honored in his own country. Throughout the Pacific Slope, from San Diego to Portland; on the Sierras and along the Great Highway . . . wherever a printing press has been carried or a ream of printing paper packed, the Overland has been kindly welcomed.[36]

What is more, the local talent of the west coast found in it a medium for their writings, and, through earthquake and sunshine, the *Overland* pursued its successful way, crossing the continent on the completed Pacific Railroad. By the end of its first year, however, Roman fell ill, and at the advice of his physician left San Francisco for a rest, selling out his proprietorship in the magazine to John H. Carmany for $7,500, an amount that represented a profit of $3,000.

By the terms of his contract with Carmany, Roman had agreed not to enter the magazine field again for ten years. Magazine publishing, however, was, as he himself described it, "in his bones." At the same time that he had sponsored the *Overland*, his imprint appeared on the California *Medical Gazette*,[37] a monthly devoted to medicine, surgery, and the collateral sciences. As soon as the ten years had elapsed, therefore, Roman returned to the field with another venture in periodicals, the *Californian, A Western Monthly Magazine*. The first number of January 1880 included an editorial section appropriately called "Outcroppings," in which the publisher introduced his new enterprise:

> Keenly alive to the fact that we have here on this coast the elements of a literature as strong, original, and characteristic, as the people themselves, the projectors of this periodical warmed it into life . . . to stand the exponent of our life and letters, such as they now are, and such as they may in time become. In the language of its prospectus, and indicative of its name, "The Californian will be thoroughly Western in its character, local to this coast in its flavor, representative and vigorous in its style and method of dealing with questions, and edited for a popular rather than a severely literary constituency." . . . With . . . a sincere desire of arousing a local literary pride among our people, the new magazine clasps hands with all interested in the working out of a common and continued prosperity.[38]

Under the editorship of Fred W. Somers and later of Charles H. Phelps, the *Californian* became a medium for the "outcroppings" of a later generation of the West, publishing the writings of Joaquin Miller and Ambrose Bierce. By May 1880, however, Roman was again compelled to yield his proprietorship in the magazine, this time to the California Publishing Company for the sum of $275, and, with the revival of the old *Overland Monthly*, the *Californian* was merged with it. Both magazines had been the offshoots of Anton Roman's confidence and ingenuity, and though he himself was never to return to the field, he could rest content with the contributions he had made to periodical publishing on the west coast. He could write:

> I have always felt grateful to the public and to the many good friends who readily and cheerfully . . . aided my endeavors in magazine publishing, but above all to the many contributors to the early issues, who worked for the success of the enterprise.[39]

ROMAN'S BOOKS FOR THE MILLION

In the years that passed between Roman's withdrawal from the *Overland* and his connection with the *Californian*, his bookstore had expanded to such an extent that it offered works not only for miners and farmers, settlers and Orientals, children and littérateurs, but for the million as well. As a publisher he had undertaken such travel books as Swift's *Going to Jericho;* he had sponsored the writings of local theologians, publishing the sermons of the San Francisco minister, Charles Wadsworth, and the Scriptural commentaries of the California bishop, William Kip. But, in order to attract the million, Roman was forced to import and sell. As early as 1861 he had issued a 259-page *Catalogue raisonné*, consisting of "a classified collection of prominent standard authors—embracing a wide range . . . and of use to all seeking the best works in any branch of Literature." As the years passed, the Montgomery Street bookstore became a market for books "for the million,"[40] books standard and miscellaneous, medical and scientific, legal and theological, books appealing to every class of society and every profession. At Roman's stand might be found, therefore, the works of eastern publishers, G. W. Carleton and T. B. Peterson, D. Appleton and Harper, Loring and Lee and Shepard; so many of the books published in New York, Philadelphia and Boston were sold by Anton Roman in San Francisco that he could advertise "a complete stock in every department of literature." His firm had agents in London and Paris as well as in New York, from whom shipments were received. Roman's relations with the eastern publishers were equal, if not superior, to those of any other house on the coast, and he advertised that thus he was able to supply books in larger quantities and at cheaper rates than other importers.

ROMAN AND WIDDLETON OF NEW YORK

With one eastern publisher Roman's relations were more closely knit.[41] In 1866 he established, for some six years, a residence in New York, but even before that date the firm of William J. Widdleton had served as his New York purchasing agent. Widdleton's business, though somewhat limited, was substantial, and as the publisher of standard books and belles-lettres, he had earned a fairly solid reputation. Many of Roman's publications appear with a double imprint—that of the Montgomery Street establishment in San Francisco and that of Widdleton at 17 Mercer, and later at 27 Howard Street, New York. It was through this New York agency that Roman offered Bret Harte's *Condensed Novels* to Carlton, and it is on the back of Widdleton's lists in the *Publishers' Trade List Annual* that Roman's advertisements appear. In addition, Roman could observe publishing conditions in the East. With Widdleton in particular, he could discuss the close affiliation of the book and stationery trades, current methods of book distribution, publicity devices, seasonal trends in books, the growth of the reprint field, changes in popular taste, the relative appeal of English novels or American travel books, juveniles or household helps, and could cull many ideas for California circulation.

CARGOES FOR MONTGOMERY STREET

As a west coast publisher and bookseller Roman needed such an association. The books he sold were carried by semi-monthly steamer between San Francisco and the East; and his relationship with Widdleton provided him with the best facilities for obtaining the latest issues of the American and English presses. In other directions, ships for Japan and China, Honolulu and Australia, Mexico and British Columbia carried heavy shipments of his goods. "We are constantly in receipt of all new publications by steamer," he advertised, "as fast as issued from the press. Books imported to order on shortest notice."[42] Roman catered not only to the interests of the "million," but to their pocketbooks as well, building up his business on the principle of "quick sales and small profits," and advertising that his "extensive and elegant assortment" might be purchased "cheap for cash." The trade was supplied on liberal terms, special inducements were offered to libraries, and particular care was taken "in filling all wholesale and retail orders by mail and express, with promptness and at the lowest cash rates." Roman was prompt, indeed, as a letter of his sent in 1876 to the publishers of the New York *Tribune* indicates:

> Do you propose republishing Chas. Reade's Letters on International Copyright in any form? We have tried to obtain copies of your issues containing the several letters without success, and as we have repeated inquiries for the letters, either in a collected or in the original form, we take this means of finding whether you will republish or not.[43]

A. ROMAN & COMPANY

Roman's letter shows not only his expeditiousness but the status of his business as well, for it is signed "A. Roman & Co." In his early business career, Roman had associated with himself Frank D. Carlton, who had had his training as a clerk with W. T. Coleman & Co., shipping merchants. Boarding with Frederick McCrellish, publisher of the *Alta California*, he became interested in printing and in 1862 had joined Roman's company. Later on, after Carlton listed himself as a "capitalist" instead of a publisher in the San Francisco *Directories*, his place in the firm was taken by Joseph A. Hofmann, who had served as Roman's chief clerk and afterwards as salesman in the concern.

A BOOKSTORE DE LUXE IN THE LICK HOUSE BLOCK

In 1871 announcement was made that Messrs. Roman & Co. had removed from their old quarters to "new and larger premises" at 11 Montgomery Street.[44] Equipped in lavish style, the store in the Lick House Block displayed to its customers a ceiling painted in fresco, fittings of white picked out with walnut, and the whole "a magnificent temple of letters." The firm that had long before advertised itself as "the largest miscellaneous book buyers in this country," and "the only exclusive book store on the Pacific Coast," now offered its customers, for the Christmas season of that year, "a royal literary feast." The "noble hall has its long tables covered with the choicest mental food culled from all climes and served up in the most magnificent style of binding." A. Roman & Co. could proudly boast, "Here we are, geographically isolated from the great world's throng, and yet the greatest cities cannot show a more complete establishment than ours."[45] Besides the books, the annuals, the photograph albums of earlier times, 11 Montgomery Street could provide its patrons with Russian leather portemonnaies, and "a complete trousseau of stationery, from the maiden card to the family Bible." Furniture, too, was for sale in the Lick House Block: carved book shelves and brackets, book stands and pouches for the wall, card stands and ink stands of cut glass or ormolu. The window display gave an earnest of the riches within; and by that Christmas of 1871, Anton Roman had reached the zenith of his success. The miner of Scott Bar, the proprietor of the Shasta Book Store, had come a long way in twenty years.

FAILURE AND BANKRUPTCY, AND A NEW START

The general panic of 1873 resulted in a continued business depression on the Pacific coast, which, by 1879, had affected booksellers as well as farmers and industrialists. In consequence of this economic crisis, an announcement was made in April 1879 that A. Roman & Co. had made an assignment for the benefit of their creditors.[46] The firm's liabilities were estimated at from $85,000 to $90,000; their nominal assets at $80,000, consisting of about $15,000 in book accounts and the balance in stock and claims in equity. At the same time, W. J. Widdleton disposed of the bulk of his publications to A. C. Armstrong and discontinued his service as Roman's New York agent.

Roman's failure did not overwhelm him. Enthusiastic and venturesome as ever, he emerged from bankruptcy as the A. Roman Publishing Company, 511 California Street, and by 1882 had opened an agency in room 15, 120 Sutter Street. In order to give the widest possible publicity to his undertaking, the publishers of the *Californian*, which he himself had projected, announced that

> Mr. Roman has again started in business as bookseller and publisher . . . and . . . is prepared to supply anything and everything in his line, from a sheet of note-paper to a complete library in bindings warranted to match the carpet. We mention this last with the special purpose of influencing the patronage of our rich men in his favor.[47]

Such patronage, however, does not seem to have been extended to him. It was less as bookseller and publisher that he resumed business than as general agent for subscription books. Roman had earlier in his career served as agent for the *National Almanac and Annual Record*, the publications of the Sunday School Union, and the *California Mail Bag*. He had also handled subscription books, such as Palmer Cox's *Squibs of California* and Hugh Quigley's *Irish Race in California*, and he had been the San Francisco agent for the first edition of Mark Twain's *Roughing It*. Along such lines he continued his business during the 1880's, no longer in a "magnificent temple of letters," but in a single room on Sutter Street. By that decade, however, the handling of subscription books had fallen into disrepute, and this aspect of the book business, impinging as it did upon the regular trade, had not only become the object of attack but was less lucrative than it had once been. Roman's first imprint had appeared in 1860 on *The Still Hour* by Austin Phelps, a work copyrighted by Gould and Lincoln and offering "standard thoughts" on religious subjects. His last imprint appeared in 1886 on a book far more characteristic of his own interests, Walter M. Leman's *Memories of an Old Actor*, for Leman's memories embraced the Sacramento Theater and the San Francisco theatricals of 1854. Though Roman never wrote his "Memories of an Old Publisher," he might well have recorded his history then, for by 1888 he had abandoned the book field forever.[48]

At that time, and until his death in 1903, Roman appears in the San Francisco *Directories* as real estate agent, dealer in city and country property and timber lands, and loan broker. At first with Arthur H. Breed (with whom, as Holcomb, Breed and Bancroft, Harlow P. Bancroft, nephew of H. H. Bancroft, became associated after the turn of the century), Anton Roman sold the land he had loved instead of the volumes that had been written about it.

On June 21, 1903, he accompanied his son and daughter to a funeral, traveling on the North Shore Railroad. A car was derailed near Tomales, and among the victims of the wreck whose injuries proved fatal was the seventy-five-year-old Anton Roman.[49]

Roman had been naturalized in Shasta County during the summer of 1885.[50] In reality, he had been naturalized long before that. Although his activities were neither so elaborate nor his reputation so celebrated as Bancroft's, his choice of publications served as a kind of marker with respect to the progress of the Pacific coast. In this way Roman's career was both a parallel and a herald to the story of westward expansion, and the narrative of his life reaffirms the sometimes forgotten American tradition which asserts that every man is a debtor not only to his profession but to his country. This miner from Bavaria, who crossed the plains to seek gold, enriched the land of his adoption; for when he placed his initials between the grizzly bear and the pick, pan and shovel decorating his trade device, he took up the task of argonaut in the broad sense, of adventurer after the treasure to be found in a literary El Dorado.

NOTES

1. A photograph of Roman is reproduced in Noah Brooks, "Bret Harte: A Biographical and Critical Sketch," *Overland Monthly*, XL (Sept. 1902), 205.

2. For Roman's purchase of books from Burgess, Gilbert & Still, see "Reminiscences of Bret Harte (a symposium: 'The Genesis of the Overland Monthly,' signed by Anton Roman)," *ibid.*, p. 220; and Henry R. Wagner's "Commercial Printers of San Francisco from 1851 to 1880," *Papers,* Bibliogr. Soc. Am., XXXIII (1939), 76.

3. Roman's early life and mining activities are described in Idwal Jones, "The Man from Scott Bar," *Westways* (June 1948), pp. 8-9; "Anton Roman," San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 22, 1903; "Anton A. Roman, Romance of Early Days in His Life," San Francisco *Examiner*, June 22, 1903; Charles H. Shinn, *Mining Camps, a Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885), p. 219 ff; Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939), p. 259. There is a possibility that Roman was in New Mexico in 1846. In the Huntington Library is a summons to the constable of Santa Fe commanding him to summon Marcus Quintane [Marcos Quintana?] before the justice of the peace to testify concerning an assault and battery, made on the person of Maubrecie Duran by A. Roman. The summons is signed by John R.

Tulles and is dated Dec. 22, 1846. Details of the rich Scott Bar gravels appear in H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VI, 365 ff, 494; see also *History of Siskiyou County, California* (Oakland, 1881), p. 217. An account of the arbitration effected between rival mining groups at "Scotch" Bar, may be found in Shinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-23. Roman's Bavarian origin is shown by his registration record in *Index to San Francisco Great Register of Voters*, 1898, 42d assembly district, 10th precinct.

4. For Roman's migratory bookselling, see "Reminiscences of Bret Harte," *loc. cit.*; and George R. Stewart, Jr., *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* (Boston & New York, 1931), p. 130.

5. Roman's advertisement is reprinted in M. H. B. Boggs, *My Playhouse Was a Concord Coach*... (Oakland, 1942), p. 155. Further details of Roman's book business in Shasta and his finances are given in Anton Roman, "The Beginnings of the Overland as Seen by the First Publisher," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., XXXII (July 1898), 72.

6. *Idem;* also in "Reminiscences of Bret Harte," *loc. cit.*

7. Between 1862 and 1871, Roman is listed in the San Francisco *Directory* at 417 and 419 Montgomery Street, and later at 11 Montgomery.

8. For the Californiana published by Roman, see, in addition to the books themselves, Robert E. and Robert G. Cowan, *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930* (San Francisco, 1933), *passim;* Ruth Doxsee, "Book Publishing in San Francisco (1848 to 1906)," Special Study (MS in Univ. Calif., School of Librarianship), 1931, pp. 13-16; list of books bearing the Roman imprint in *Overland Monthly*, July 1898, p. 72, n. 2; Roman's advertisements in many of his publications, as well as in *Publishers' Trade List Annual*, 1877 and 1878, *Publishers' Weekly*, III (April 5, 1873), 359; and VIII (July 3, 1875), 56; and S. F. *Directory*, 1868-69, between pp. 80 and 81.

9. John S. Hittel [*sic*], *The Resources of California* (San Francisco: A. Roman & Co.; and New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1863), p. v. See also Robert E. Cowan, *A Bibliography of the History of California*... *1510-1906* (San Francisco, 1914), pp. 111-12.

10. John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co., 1868), Dedication.

11. J. M. Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (New York and San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1872), prefatory note from publisher.

12. Guido Küstel, *Nevada and California Processes of Silver and Gold Extraction* (San Francisco: Frank D. Carlton, 1863), p. 3.

13. See "List of Valuable Works on Mining... For Sale by A. Roman & Co.," advertised in William Barstow, *Sulphurets* (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co., 1867), p. 118.

14. A. W. Loomis, ed., *Confucius and the Chinese Classics* (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co., 1867), p. vii.

15. Roman's characteristics are mentioned in Noah Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 202; and in Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

16. See advertisement of Loomis's work at the end of John Franklin Swift, *Going to Jericho* (New York and San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1868). Loomis's work was announced as "the first book printed from Stereotype Plates in California," in *Publishers' Weekly*, VIII (July 3, 1875), 56.

17. Benoni Lanctot, *Chinese and English Phrase Book* (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co., 1867), Preface.

18. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii.

19. See the list in which "A. Roman & Co. invite particular attention to the following works on China and Japan," at the end of Lanctot, *op. cit.*

20. T. A. Kendo, *Treatise on Silk and Tea Culture and Other Asiatic Industries*

Adapted to the Soil and Climate of California (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co., 1870), Preface. At the end of this work is the list of "Important Books for Farmers, for sale by A. Roman & Co."

21. For the juveniles and schoolbooks published by Roman, see *Publishers' Weekly*, VIII (July 3, 1875), 56; and X (July 29, 1876), *passim;* advertisement of Roman's "California Juvenile Books" at end of Hutchings, *op. cit.* (1871); Roman's list at end of Gregory Yale, *Legal Titles to Mining Claims* (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co., 1867). For the juveniles and texts, and school apparatus sold by Roman, see the *California Mail Bag,* I (Dec. 1871), 112; Roman's advertisement at the end of Hittell, *op. cit.,* 1874 edition; and *San Francisco Business Directory and Mercantile Guide,* 1864-65, p. 31.

22. Besides the literary works themselves, see Edgar J. Hinkel, ed., *Bibliography of California Fiction, Poetry, Drama,* W.P.A. Project (Oakland, 1938), I, *passim;* list of Roman imprints at Huntington Library.

23. A. W. Patterson, *Onward: A Lay of the West* (New York and San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1869), Remarks.

24. *Madrona Etc. By D. T. C.* (San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1876), Note.

25. For discussions of Charles Warren Stoddard's *Poems,* edited by Bret Harte and published by Roman in 1867, see Francis O'Neill, "Stoddard, Psalmist of the South Seas," *The Catholic World,* CV (July 1917), 511; Charles H. Shinn, "Early Books, Magazines, and Book-Making," *Overland Monthly,* 2d ser., XII (Oct. 1888), 347; Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 230.

26. For the preparation and journalistic reception of *Outcroppings,* ed. by Bret Harte for Roman in 1865 but dated 1866, see Bret Harte, "My First Book," California edition of *Works* (Boston & New York, 1929), III, 427 ff; "Outcroppings of California Verse," San Francisco *Evening Bulletin,* Jan. 6, 1866; "Reminiscences of Bret Harte," *loc. cit.;* Stewart, *op. cit.,* pp. 129 ff; Walker, *op. cit.,* pp. 211 ff.

27. Bret Harte to Anton Roman, San Francisco, Jan. 8, 1866, in Geoffrey Bret Harte, ed., *The Letters of Bret Harte* (Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 3-4.

28. *Outcroppings: Being Selections of California Verse* (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co.-W. J. Widdleton, 1866), p. 3.

29. This was the verdict of the *American Flag,* as reported in the *Evening Bulletin.* See note 26, above.

30. Geoffrey Harte, ed., *op. cit.,* p. 3.

31. Titus F. Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1868), pp. 683-84.

32. "Reminiscences of Bret Harte," *loc. cit.* For further details concerning the *Overland Monthly* and Roman's relations with Harte, see H. H. Bancroft, *Essays and Miscellany* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 600; Henry J. W. Dam, "A Morning with Bret Harte," *McClure's Magazine,* IV (Dec. 1894), pp. 44-45; Charles S. Greene, "Magazine Publishing in California," *Publs.,* Library Assoc. Calif. (San Francisco, 1898), No. 2, pp. 3 ff; George Wharton James, "The Founding of the Overland Monthly," *Overland Monthly,* LII (July 1908), 5 and 10; B. E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 301 ff; Henry Childs Merwin, *The Life of Bret Harte* (Boston and New York, 1911), pp. 44-45; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), III, 56 and 402 ff; *Overland Monthly* (July 1898, and Sept. 1902), *passim;* "Overland Reminiscences," *Overland Monthly,* 2d ser., I (Jan. 1883), 1; T. Edgar Pemberton, *The Life of Bret Harte* (London, 1903), pp. 82 and 87-88; "A. Roman," San Francisco *Alta California,* Aug. 4, 1879; Stewart, *op. cit.,* pp. 162-63; Charles Warren Stoddard, "Early Recollections of Bret Harte," *Atlantic Monthly,* LXXVIII (Nov. 1896), 675-76; Walker, *op. cit.,* pp. 259 ff.

33. Roman, "The Beginnings of the Overland," *op. cit.*, p. 73.

34. *Overland Monthly*, I (July 1868), 99.

35. There is some confusion regarding the story behind "The Luck of Roaring Camp." In "Reminiscences of Bret Harte," prepared for the *Overland Monthly* of Sept. 1902, Roman indicated that he had read the proofs before he received word of the tale's "immorality." In an interview with Roman reported in the *Alta California* of Aug. 4, 1879, however, he states that he read the proofs after he had received a letter from his partner denouncing the story as "indecent." Moreover, according to James Howard Bridge, *Millionaires and Grub Street* (New York, 1931), p. 214, Roman occasionally remarked that the lady proof-reader was a "fanciful creation." There was also some difference of opinion between Harte and Roman regarding Mrs. Roman's part in "The Luck." See Harte's letter to Nan, Aug. 29, 1879, in Geoffrey B. Harte, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53: "Do you remember the day you lay sick at San José and I read you the story of 'The Luck,' and took heart and comfort from your tears over it, and courage to go on and *demand* that it should be put into the magazine. And think—think of fat Mrs. Roman claiming to be its sponsor!!!" This explosion was doubtless a result of the *Alta California's* report (as above) of the interview with Roman, in which Roman stated, "I told my wife that she was truly the sponsor of Bret Harte."

36. *Overland Monthly*, I (Oct. 1868), p. 385.

37. Roman also reprinted articles from the California *Medical Gazette* (San Francisco), such as those of Arthur B. Stout on "Hygiene, as regards the Sewerage of San Francisco," in 1868 and 1869.

38. *Californian*, I (Jan. 1880), 90. For further details about the *Californian*, see the *Californian*, II (July 1880), 100; and VI (Sept. 1882), 291; Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Mott, *ibid.*, pp. 56 and 406; Roman, "The Beginnings of the Overland," *op. cit.*, p. 75; "Reminiscences of Bret Harte," *op. cit.*, p. 222.

39. "Reminiscences . . .," *loc. cit.*

40. Roman's books "for the million" are advertised in the *California Mail Bag*, I (Dec. 1871), p. 112. His *Catalogue raisonné: a general and classified list of the most important works in nearly every department of literature and science, published in the United States and England, with a bibliographical introduction* (San Francisco, 1861), is owned by the California State Library. For the wide variety of his stock, see also *S. F. Bus. Dir. and Mercantile Guide*, *ibid.*, pp. 30-31. The eastern publications sold by Roman are listed in "Books of the Month," *Overland Monthly*, V (July and Aug. 1870), 104 and 200; and in the *California Mail Bag*, II (June-July 1872), 11 and 41. His agents are mentioned in J. Price and C. S. Haley, *The Buyers' Manual and Business Guide; being a Description of the Leading Business Houses . . . of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco, 1872), p. 48.

41. For Roman's connections with W. J. Widdleton, see *The American Bookseller*, n. s., I (May 15, 1882), 226; Bret Harte to James R. Osgood & Co., May 30, 1870, in *Concerning "Condensed Novels" by Bret Harte, Introduction and . . . Notes by Nathan Van Patten* (Stanford University, 1929), pp. xix-xx; "Obituary. W. J. Widdleton," New York *Tribune*, May 3, 1882; "Obituary. William J. Widdleton," *Publishers' Weekly*, XXI (May 6, 1882), 478; "Sketches of the Publishers. William J. Widdleton," *The Round Table*, IV (Sept. 15, 1866), 107-108.

42. *S. F. Bus. Dir. and Mercantile Guide*, *ibid.*, p. 30. For further details concerning Roman's business methods and business associates, see Roman's advertisements on the covers of the S. F. *Directory*, 1861 and 1862; his advertisements at the end of Barstow, *op. cit.*; Hittell, *op. cit.* (1874); Price and Haley, *loc. cit.*; *Directory*, 1859-1865, listings for Frank D. Carlton; also for Joseph A. Hofmann, *ibid.*, 1863-1872.

43. A. Roman & Co. to the publishers of the New York *Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1876, manuscript division, New York Public Library.

44. *American Booksellers' Guide*, III (Dec. 1, 1871), 446; *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, Dec. 1, 1871, p. 23.

45. *California Mail Bag*, I (Dec. 1871), 112. Here Roman's new establishment and its stock are described in detail. For further details about the new store, see Price and Haley, *loc. cit.*

46. "The Affairs of A. Roman & Co.," *American Bookseller*, VII (April 15, 1879), 309.

47. *Californian*, IV (Oct. 1881), p. 358.

48. In 1894 he was an unsuccessful non-partisan candidate for recorder. San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 22, 1903.

49. For Roman's death, see *ibid.;* "Death of Anton Roman," *The Argonaut*, LII (June 29, 1903), 427; Sacramento *Union*, June 23, 1903; San Francisco *Examiner*, June 23, 1903.

50. For Roman's registration record, see note 3, above.

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Dates of Palóu's Death and Lasuén's Birth Determined

By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

READERS of this article, on seeing its title, may shrug their shoulders and exclaim: "Well, what of it!" As biographical information, however, the dates help to round out the careers of two of California's eminent missionaries, Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M., the companion and biographer of Serra, the author of the *Noticias* and founder of Mission Dolores in San Francisco; and Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, O.F.M., co-laborer with Serra, his successor in the presidency, and the founder of nine more missions after Serra's demise.

WHEN DID PALOU DIE?

The career of Palóu is well known. The very brief summary of his activity is given here merely as a setting for the data concerning his death. Palóu was born in Palma, Mallorca, Spain, January 22, 1723.[1] Having finished his year in the novitiate in Palma, he began his studies for the priesthood in the Convento de San Francisco de Palma in 1740. One of his classmates was Fray Juan Crespí. Both had as teacher Fray Junípero Serra. This relationship continued for three years.[2]

In 1749, Serra and Palóu simultaneously decided upon a missionary career in the Americas. Together they sailed to the new world. Between 1750 and 1758, Palóu labored with Serra in the Sierra Gorda of Mexico; between 1758 and 1767 they were associated at the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, and both left for Lower California in 1767. When Serra set out in the spring of 1769 to found the missions of Upper California, Palóu assumed the presidency of the Lower California area, which he retained until 1773. Then he joined Serra in Upper California and remained there until 1785, whereupon he returned to his College.[3]

At the triennial chapter held in Mexico City, July 1, 1786, Palóu was elected the fourteenth guardian or superior of the institution and served in that capacity until his death on April 6, 1789, at the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. These two dates, 1786 and 1789, are the ones the writer desires to emphasize. They were found in recent years in the official book of the College, "Libro de Decretos de el Colegio de el Señor San Fernando de Mexico," which covers every important decision and event of the College's activity between the years 1733 and 1858.[4]

The date of Palóu's election to office is found in the Latin account of the proceedings of the chapter of 1786. The account of his death is given in two separate documents in the above mentioned "Libro," the one in Spanish, the other in Latin, in the year 1789.[5] For some undivulged reason, Palóu, the guardian of San Fernando, had gone to the neighboring College to the north, Querétaro, about 200 miles away. There he became ill. Death came to him on April 6. The news arrived at San Fernando on April 12. He was sixty-six years old.[6] Moreover, unless it can be proved by new documents, the College of Querétaro rather than that of San Fernando must be considered the sepulcher of Palóu. Finally, a note may be added to complete the vital statistics in regard to his physical appearance. At the age of twenty-six, on the point of leaving Spain, official government papers describe Palóu as of medium height, of swarthy complexion, with dark eyes and hair.[7]

WHEN WAS LASUEN BORN?

Most every reader of California mission history at some time or other has come across a statement concerning Lasuén's longevity.[8] The English explorer, George Vancouver, met Lasuén at Carmel Mission in 1792 and left for posterity a flattering description of Lasuén's personality but a bad yet inculpable statement in regard to that gentleman's vital statistics. He ventured to write that Lasuén was "about seventy-two years of age."[9] Since Lasuén died at Carmel Mission, June 26, 1803,[10] he should, according to Vancouver's time schedule, have been about eighty-three when that event overtook him. Moreover, Lasuén founded seven missions between August 28, 1791, and June 13, 1798, which was rugged work for a man between the years of seventy-one and seventy-eight, and which would call for extraordinary good health, vigor and vitality. Now, what are the facts?

Lasuén's age at the time of his death was not recorded in the "Libro de Difuntos" of Carmel by the padre in charge. Hence we must look elsewhere for a clue. Three documents in widely separated areas disclose Lasuén's true age.

It was Dr. Don José Martínez de Marigorta y Ortiz de Zárate who in this century determined the date of Lasuén's birth from the baptismal records of the parish of San Vincente in Victoria, in the region of Cantabria, Spain. These records disclose that Fermín Lasuén, the son of Lorenzo Lasuén and María Francisca de Arasqueta, was born in Victoria, June 7, 1736, and was baptized on June 8.[11]

When Lasuén was at Cádiz, Spain, ready to embark for the Americas, the official government statistics give his age as twenty-three. Since that was in 1759, it again brings the date of Lasuén's birth back to 1736.[12]

Sometime after September 9, 1772, Fray Rafael Verger, O.F.M., guardian of San Fernando College, Mexico, drew up, at the request of the viceroy, a complete list of the Franciscan friars belonging to the College, including the missionaries who had gone abroad. In this list we find the name of "Fray Fermín Lasuén, 37 years old, who received the Franciscan habit in 1750 in the Province of Cantabria."[13] Here is a discrepancy of a year or less, since that would push Lasuén's birth back to 1735. However, differences of from six to nine months in friars' ages frequently occur in these official lists. We have the birth certificate and that is really sufficient. In general, the Mexican document agrees. It is a far cry from the reputed year of Lasuén's birth, 1720, which historians were forced to assign because of Vancouver's assertion that in 1792 Lasuén was "about seventy-two."

In order to exculpate Vancouver from undue exercise of judgment in the estimate of Lasuén's age, we must look about for a possible reason. The answer may be found in a letter by Lasuén himself. On October 3, 1782, he wrote to Father Vélez in Mexico from San Diego: "I am already old and entirely gray. And although my years are responsible, yet the burden of my assignment has considerably contributed to this, particularly the five years I am about to complete as minister of Mission San Diego. This land is for apostles only; and its people need more apostolic men than myself."[14]

When Lasuén wrote those words in 1782 about his prematurely old and gray appearance, he was but forty-six years old. Consequently, ten years later, when Vancouver met him in Carmel (1792), Lasuén must have aged considerably for Vancouver to describe him as "about seventy-two," when as a matter of fact he was but fifty-six. So when Lasuén died in 1803, he was sixty-seven years old, over a decade and a half less than the probable eighty-three generally assigned as the term of his life span. He built his nine California missions between 1786 (Santa Barbara) and 1798 (San Luis Rey), a program which called for strenuous traveling and detailed superintendence. This Lasuén did between the ages of fifty and sixty-two.

When Lasuén came to the College of San Fernando, he was sent to the Sierra Gorda missions, where Serra and Palóu had labored before him, and he remained there between 1762 and 1767. Lasuén spent the years 1768 to 1773 in Lower California. When he came to Upper California in the latter year he was thirty-seven; when he assumed the presidency of the Upper California missions he was forty-nine. At the time of his death he was sixty-seven.

In physical appearance, at the age of twenty-three, when leaving Spain, he was of average height, white (not swarthy), with a somewhat florid complexion, pock-marked, had a heavy beard, dark eyes, his hair dark and curly.[15]

NOTES

1. Zephyrin Englehardt, *San Francisco; or, Mission Dolores* (Chicago, 1924), p. 373; also, Maynard Geiger, "Important California Missionary Dates Determined," *The Americas*, IV (Jan. 1948), 287.

2. Maynard Geiger, "The Scholastic Career and Preaching Apostolate of Fray Junípero Serra . . .," *ibid.*, IV (July 1947), 71-72.

3. Francisco Palóu, *Relación histórica de la Vida ... Junípero Serra* (Mexico City, 1787); and Palóu, *Noticias de la Nueva California* (San Francisco, 1874), *passim,* disclose the various dates in the career of Palóu himself up to 1787.

4. This important book on administration is to be found in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. A transcript is now in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

5. The Spanish and Latin texts are given in Geiger (see note 1, above), pp. 288 and 290, respectively.

6. "Libro de Decretos ...," note 4, above.

7. Document 5546, segunda sección, *Contratación,* Archivo de Indias, Sevilla, Spain.

8. C. E. Chapman, *A History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1923), p. 365.

9. Capt. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* ... (London, 1798), II, 34. His description of Lasuén is quoted in Chapman, *op. cit.,* p. 379.

10. "Libro de Difuntos" of Carmel Mission, now in the Bishop's Archives, Fresno, California.

11. First published by Fray Buenaventura Salazar, O.F.M., in Spain, shortly before 1935 and republished by him in *Misioneros Franciscanos en América,* at Bilbao, Spain, in 1935, p. 103, note 2. A copy of this latter work is in the library of Mission Santa Barbara. See Geiger, note 1 above, p. 292, for the Spanish text of the birth and baptismal certificate.

12. Document 5546, segunda sección, *Contratación.*

13. Document of the Biblioteca del Museo Nacional, Mexico City. A photograph of the same is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

14. Original in the Biblioteca del Museo Nacional. Photograph in Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

15. Document 5546, segunda sección, *Contratación.*

California: A Possible Derivation of the Name

By A. E. Sokol

THE question, "How did California come by its name?" seems to have been settled; but what the name itself means, or where it came from originally, remains unsolved. The following is offered as a conjecture which, upon further research, may prove to contain a clue; on the other hand, it may be a coincidence and have no actual bearing on the subject.

The generally accepted theory regarding the application of the name "California" is the one offered in 1862 by the Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale. According to this theory the word occurred first in a Spanish novel, *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, written by García Ordóñez de Montalvo as the fifth part of the then-popular Portuguese romance, Vasco de Lobeira's *Amadís de Gaula*, which Montalvo had translated into Spanish. The story deals with an imaginary island called California, rich in pearls and gold, and peopled with black Amazons whose queen was Calafia. Since the Amadís story was very popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was known to the explorers of that time and that it became the basis of name-giving for one of the new discoveries, referring at first to Lower California, but gradually embracing the entire region now known as California.[1]

This explanation has not been challenged nor modified by additional findings in recent years, except that a brief and as yet unexplained reference to a country by the name of Califerne was found in the *Chanson de Roland*, a French romance written possibly as early as 1066.[2] The origin of the name in a native Indian word, or in any combination of Latin or Greek roots, has not proved acceptable. Montalvo's *Esplandián* is thus generally taken as the source. That "California," variously spelled, was current during the Middle Ages and must have occurred in many early manuscripts, seems to have escaped attention.

The writer first came across a word suggesting the name of California in the German law book, *Der Sachsenspiegel*, probably written by Eike von Repgow about 1230.[3] In modern German the passage reads:

> Es kann kein Weib Fürsprech sein, noch ohne Vormund klagen. Das verwirkte für alle Frauen Calefurnia, die vor dem Reiche [König] sich übel aufführte vor Zorn, da ihr Wille ohne Fürsprech nicht durchgehen durfte.[4]

Translated into English the sentence runs somewhat like this:

> No woman may be an advocate nor plead [a cause before court] without a guardian. This privilege was lost for all women by Calefurnia, who misbehaved before court, being angry because she could not get her will without an advocate.

The *Sachsenspiegel* is a compilation of law as practiced and recognized in the then-Saxon part of Germany. Because of the clarity of its language and its precision of expression, it quickly became popular in Germany. Not only was it copied in numerous manuscripts and became the forefather of other German law books, such as the *Deutschenspiegel (Spiegel Deutscher Leute)* and the *Schwabenspiegel*, but it also was translated into Latin, French, and several Slavic languages. Altogether several hundred manuscripts exist of these various related medieval works, whose influence is said to have extended even to Sicily under the rule of Emperor Frederick II, who was also king of that island, and possibly as far as Spain.[5]

At one time some doubt existed among scholars as to the priority of these three principal German law books, but it seems established now that the *Sachsenspiegel* is the earliest, while the *Schwabenspiegel* dates from about fifty years later, with the *Deutschenspiegel* acting as the connecting link.[6] The two later works are certainly based on the Saxon law book, yet they show departures from their main source, not only those made necessary by the difference in the law of the three German regions but suggesting consultation of sources not used by the author of the earlier *Sachsenspiegel*. The only manuscript of the *Deutschenspiegel* that exists today omits the name Calefurnia from the passage altogether, thus depriving it of all relevance.[7] Possibly the writer of that manuscript, not familiar with the story of Calefurnia and not knowing what the *Sachsenspiegel* referred to, just left it out; medieval copyists are known to have resorted to such drastic means in case of doubt. Other copies of the book might have been more complete in this respect, but, since no other is preserved for us, we cannot check the point.

The numerous manuscripts of the *Schwabenspiegel*, on the other hand, not only contain, with variations in spelling,[8] the "Calefurnia" passage in full, but they even embroider on it by adding that the lady in question was a Roman noblewoman, and that her objectionable behavior consisted in showing her naked posterior to the king. Thereupon the latter, after consulting with his wise attendants, established the rule that no woman should ever be permitted to be an advocate nor plead her case before court without her guardian.[9]

The explanation for this expanded version of the Calefurnia episode in the *Schwabenspiegel* may be that the author, wishing to be more explicit than his Saxon predecessor, consulted a source of the anecdote not known to Eike von Repgow. That fits in with the general assumption that Eike knew practically no Roman law (the Calefurnia passage being usually quoted as the only example of Roman influence in his work), while the composer of the later book, writing at a time when that law had begun to penetrate into Germany, already had access to works containing the Calefurnia story in its Latin original. As will be seen, this assumption would also account for the names used in the later book. One difficulty remains, however: since the known Latin sources do not contain all the details mentioned by the writer of the *Schwabenspiegel*, he must either have invented them himself to make the episode more vivid and more to the taste of his contemporaries, or he found it already given in the expanded form in some intermediary source which has been lost to us.

The sources of Roman law became available in Germany only in the later Middle Ages, through Latin excerpts or translations and adaptations made by foreign scholars, especially Italian and French. A Latin manuscript of that sort is preserved in the monastery of Göttweig in Lower Austria.[10] It mentions a "Calphurnia indisciplinatissima," but does not seem to elaborate further. According to the editor of the manuscript, it was written about 1170 by a Frenchman, probably in Paris, and was designed as a short course in Roman law for the use of the clergy. It is said to be one of the oldest comprehensive presentations of the theory of Roman law known in medieval literature. From this it appears fairly certain that the story of Calefurnia, used as an argument to rationalize the forbidding of women to plead before court, was a widely known lawyers' anecdote, popular in various parts of Europe at least since the end of the twelfth century.[11]

What were the Roman sources of this anecdote, how did it originate, and how did it pass into medieval tradition?

There is no doubt that one of the earliest and most important sources was the work of the Roman writer Valerius Maximus, who lived during the first century of the Christian era and wrote his work, *Memorable Facts and Sayings*, during the reign of Emperor Tiberius.[12] It was intended as a kind of source book of historical anecdotes for use in the schools of rhetoric. Although of no great literary value, it became very popular in the following centuries through extracts and translations. One of the best known of these is Petrus Cantor's *Verbum Abbreviatum*, written about 1187 in Paris—too late to have been the source of the Göttweig manuscript.

In free translation, the original Latin of Valerius Maximus' rendering of the anecdote reads thus:

> Caja (or Gaja) Afrania, wife of senator Licinius Bucio, having a passion for law suits, always pleaded her own causes before the praetor, not because she lacked defenders, but because she was full of impudence. Because she tired the tribunals by shouting or rather by barking, she became the best known example of pettifogging of her sex. Her name became abominable; to characterize moral depravity among women, one says: this is a C. Afrania. She lived to the year in which Caesar became Consul for the second time together with P. Servilius. In talking of such a monster, history should mark the time of her disappearance rather than that of her birth.

It will be noted that in this story the name of the disreputable lady is C. Afrania, not Calefurnia, and that her misbehavior differs considerably from that mentioned by the medieval writers. This rather disqualifies Valerius Maximus as the *direct* source of the medieval versions, but the story is more logical than in the latter, because it assumes the right of women to plead before court until that right was abrogated by C. Afrania's impudent conduct.

There is, however, the possibility that the record of C. Afrania became known among the lawyers of the Middle Ages through the Roman law books themselves. Valerius Maximus' anecdote reappears in the writings of Domitius Ulpianus, a famous Roman jurist of the second century A. D., who supplied about one-third of the contents of Justinian's *Digest.*[13] Through Justinian's famous code, which was translated into French about 1135, the alleged reason for excluding women from the right to plead may have become known among the early students of Roman law in the different European countries, even without direct reference to its earlier literary occurrence in Valerius Maximus.

Ulpian gives the name of the offending woman as Carfania, which is evidently a contraction and transposition of Valerius' "C. Afrania" and can very well be the direct antecedent of the various forms of the name in the *Schwabenspiegel* manuscripts. But it still does not explain the "Calefurnia" of the *Sachsenspiegel*, nor does his short statement contain any of the vivid details with which the medieval authors adorn their versions. We are thus forced back to our previous assumption that these are either the product of the German lawyers' robust imagination, or that they were found already made to order in an intermediary source of which we have, at present, no record.

This latter assumption might also account for the change in names. In the absence of definite proof we can only speculate, but it seems not unlikely that somewhere along the line the name of the objectionable lady became confused with that of another famous Roman woman, Calpurnia. The Calpurnii were a celebrated Roman family, several members of which, both male and female, achieved renown in ancient history. Among the women, at least two or three became prominent: one, the fourth wife of Caesar, whose premonition of her husband's death is related in Valerius' book; and another, the wife of Plinius the Younger, who gave a charming portrait of her in his letters. Since it seems improbable that these letters were known, even by hearsay, to the German lawyer-authors of the Middle Ages, we may conclude that the Calpurnia known to them, at least by name, was the wife of Caesar. How, where, and when Carfania and Calpurnia became mixed with each other, cannot be stated at this time; but the two names together would certainly account for all the hybrid forms found in the German law books. Once we can accept Calpurnia as a basis, it is easy to show how it would change, first to Calphurnia, then to Calfurnia, Calefurnia, and conceivably to California.[14]

Considering these facts and assumptions, we may now conclude that the *Sachsenspiegel* drew on an as yet unknown intermediary source which contained the story of C. Afrania but used the name Calpurnia, or a derivative, probably without giving further details about the nature of the lady's behavior in court. The author of the *Schwabenspiegel*, either finding the anecdote in the work of his predecessor, or baffled by the mutilated version of the *Deutschenspiegel*, could draw on his knowledge of Justinian to insert the name Carfania or had access to another intermediary source which was based on the Roman authority. For some reason, however, it was the Calpurnia derivative which survived in connection with the story of C. Afrania, while that name itself seems to have disappeared during the following centuries.

In addition to the possibility that the name of California may have entered Spain directly from Roman literature, or by way of the German law books, there exists still another. To trace this we must return to German literature, namely to the *Narrenschiff (Ship of Fools)* of Sebastian Brant, which appeared in 1494 and at once became a literary sensation. The first German book to attract wide attention in Europe, it was within a few years translated twice into Latin, three times into French, twice into English, and twice into Dutch. Its phenomenal success lay in the fact that it expressed the temper of the time better than any other contemporary publication; also, no small share of its appeal was due to the numerous woodcuts accompanying the text, which made the book the most elegant print of the fifteenth century.

Actually the *Ship of Fools* is not much more than the translation and compilation of passages from biblical and classical literature, reproaching various kinds of people or fools for their particular weaknesses or vices. The many chapters, each dealing with some special folly, are loosely held together by the fiction of a ship in which all these fools are embarked. Incidentally, the *Ship of Fools* contains the first literary reference to the discovery of a new world by Columbus.[15]

Sebastian Brant, the author, was a lawyer of Strassburg, who had become a university professor and publication expert in Basel. In addition to his knowledge of Roman law, he had first-hand acquaintance with medieval German literature, as evidenced by his edition of Freidank's *Bescheidenheit*, a work of the early thirteenth century. He thus had ready access to the Caja Afrania-Calefurnia material, and he actually used it in his *Narrenschiff*. The passage in question is contained in the chapter on "Wicked Women," line 41 ff, and is quite short: "Wann frowen sollten reden vil / Calphurnia kem bald jns spil. . . ."[16]

This sentence shows that Calphurnia—rather than Afrania or any of its derivatives—was the name for a talkative woman that survived through the Middle Ages. It might also indicate that Sebastian Brant, the lawyer, knew of her through his reading of the *Sachsenspiegel* rather than directly from the Latin sources, either Valerius Maximus or Justinian.

Brant's *Narrenschiff* was first translated into Latin, under the title *Stulti-*

fera Navis, by Jacob Locher (sometimes referred to as Philomusus Suevus) in 1497, with the help of Brant himself. This Latin version, which became the basis for translation into other European languages, constitutes a free adaptation of the original, rather than a literal rendering. Some parts were actually expanded and show the result of additional research, done either by the translator or by Brant.[17] Locher's Latin text of our passage reads as follows: "Calphurnia nudum monstraret clunem et posteriora viris," which might indicate an acquaintance with the expanded form of the story as found in the *Schwabenspiegel*. Yet on the margin of the Locher version we find cited: I.ff de postul, which refers to Justinian, who, however, does not include the naked posterior. The actual source of Locher's statement is thus not quite clear.

When we turn to the early English translation of Brant's work, which appeared in 1509, the passage has assumed the following form:

> Wordes among wymen is comon and ryfe
> Wand fere of shame, from many gone is quyte
> So one Calphurnia in a case playntyfe
> Hir bare tayle shewed to the iuge in despyte[18]

This finishes our tally of "California's" antecedents in European literary tradition. From now on we are confined to speculation.

It is possible that the name or a related form of it was known among medieval lawyers in Spain as well as in Germany. We know that Justinian Roman law was received in Spain during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and that the great Spanish legislator of the Middle Ages, Alfonso X, the Wise, issued his most renowned legal work, the *Siete Partidas*, in the year 1265, and that it was framed in imitation of Justinian's *Pandects*. It is, therefore, also possible that the California anecdote became known in Spain at an early date.[19]

Possibly the German *Sachsenspiegel* itself or a similar book introduced the form into Spain, though we must consider this as less likely.

But it is quite conceivable that the Latin or French versions of the *Ship of Fools*—there was no translation of the book into Spanish—carried the name into Spain and brought it to the attention of Montalvo. The fame of the book, the time element, and the striking similarity of the names are in favor of this theory. Taken from one of the sources mentioned above but only vaguely remembered in its implications, the harmonious exotic name may have given the Spanish author the idea of making use of it in connection with his imaginary island.

It may be of significance that the greatest Spanish jurist of the late fifteenth century was Alfonso Díaz de Montalvo[20]; but this might, of course, be a meaningless coincidence.

Further researches along the lines enumerated below can alone answe these questions:

1) Establish, if possible, the links connecting the Valerius Maximus story of Caja Afrania with the medieval versions.

2) Establish similar links between Justinian and the law books of the Middle Ages.

3) Find the immediate source of the *Sachsenspiegel* version, the *Schwabenspiegel* variant, and the Göttweig manuscript.

4) Show if and how the confusion between C. Afrania and Calpurnia arose.

5) Trace the Latin or the medieval version of the anecdote into Spanish legal literature.

6) Prove the connection, if one exists, between any of the known occurrences of the name and its use in Montalvo's *Las Sergas de Esplandián.*

It is certainly a worthwhile task for scholars in the respective fields, which might not only resolve the mystery still enveloping the name of this state, but would probably also bring to light many interesting and as yet unsuspected interrelations among European literatures of the earlier period.

NOTES

1. For discussion of the subject, see Henry R. Wagner, "The Discovery of California," this QUARTERLY, I (July 1922), 52-56; and Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California, The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), pp. 55-69, including a list of references; also H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), I, 64-68..

8. *Chanson de Roland,* lines 2921-24.

3. The standard work on this medieval book is the one by C. G. Homeyer, *Des Sachsenspiegels Erster Theil oder das Sächsische Landrecht vom Jahre 1369* (Berlin, 1861); the above passage is, however, quoted from the edition of Julius Weiske, *Der Sachsenspiegel (Landrecht) nach der ältesten Leipziger Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1895), II, 63, #1, which is based on an older manuscript than that of Homeyer's work.

4. The medieval text is as follows: "Ez en muz nichein wib vorspreche sin noch ane vormunden clagen: daz verlos in allen Calefurnia, die vor deme riche missebarte vor zorne, do ir wille ane vorspreche nicht muste volgen."

5. Cf. Heinrich Zoepfl, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (Braunschweig, 1871), I, 167 ff.

6. Anton Pfalz und Hans Voltelini, "Forschungen zu den deutschen Rechtsbüchern," in *Sitzungsberichte,* Akad. Wissensch. Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse:

I. "Die Uberlieferung des Deutschenspiegels," vol. 191 (Vienna, 1919);
II. "Der Verfasser der sächsischen Weltchronik," and
III. "Der Sachsenspiegel und die Zeitgeschichte," vol. 201 (Vienna, 1924).

7. "Ez enmag dhein weip vorspreche sein. noch ane vormunt chlagen das verloz in allen alle sogtanen sache dev vor dem reiche missepart vor zorne. do ir wille an vorsprechen niht mochte fur gan." Julius Ficker, *Der Spiegel deutscher Leute* (Innsbruck, 1859), p. 119.

8. As, for example, Kalphurnia, Kalpfrunia, Kalfurnia, and even Consimia, Carsinia, etc. Cf. Pfalz u. Voltelini, *op. cit.,* I, 31; H. G. Gengler, ed., *Des Schwabenspiegels Landrechtsbuch* (Erlangen, 1875), p. 164; C. G. Homeyer, "Das Landrecht des Gorlitzer Rechtsbuches," in *Des Sachsenspiegels Zweiter Theil nebst verwandten Rechtsbüchern* (Berlin, 1844), II, 219, where the name appears in the form "Calafarnia."

9. F. L. A. Freiherr von Lassberg, *Der Schwabenspiegel oder Schwäbisches Land—*

und Lehen–Rechtbuch nach einer Handschrift vom Jahre 1287 (Tübingen, 1840), p. 110.

10. Friedrich Schulte, "Uber die Summa legum des Codex Gottwicensis nr. 38. Aus dem XII. Jahrhundert," in *Sitzungsbericht* der philosoph.-hist. Klasse der Kaiserl. Akad. Wissensch. (Vienna, 1868), LVII, 433.

11. Cf. Gustav Roethe, "Die Reimvorreden des Sachsenspiegels," in *Abhandlungen* der Königl. Gesellsch. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, philolog.-hist. Classe, N.F. (Berlin, 1899), II, #8.

12. C. Kempf, *Valerii Maximi Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* (Leipzig, 1888), VIII, 3, 2, p. 378. Cf. Barrett Wendell, *Traditions of European Literature from Homer to Dante* (New York, 1920), p. 292.

13. Ulpian, III, 1, *Digestorum* 1, 5, where the inability of women to plead at court is ascribed to "Carfania improbissima femina, quae inverecunde postulans causam dedit edicto." (Carfania, an improper woman, demanded her right in an irreverent way and thus caused the edict.) Actually, however, this restriction on women, occurring in both Roman and German law, was probably caused by the fact that women could not bear arms.

14. Dr. Nathan van Patten, professor of bibliography at Stanford University and custodian of a collection of rare musical material donated by an anonymous music lover, calls my attention to a volume entitled, *The Favorite Songs of the Opera Call'd Calphurnia.* On some of the pages the name is spelled "Calfurnia," while most of the musical dictionaries give it as Calpurnia. We thus have here a living example of the metamorphosis of the Latin "Calpurnia" to the later "Calfurnia." This opera, with a libretto written by Grazio Braccioli of Venice, which was later much changed by Nicolas F. Haym, was first set to music by the German composer J. D. Heinichen, in 1713, and again by Giovanni Battista Bononcini, in 1724. In this setting it was first performed in London and enjoyed considerable success. Cf. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1789] (New York, 1935). Incidentally, the name of the opera refers to still another Calpurnia, who was the daughter of the Roman consul and general, G. Marius, and was to marry Trebonius, another prominent Roman of that time.

15. Cf. Edwin H. Zeydel, "Sebastian Brant and the Discovery of America," in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLII (July 1943), 410 ff. Also see Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

16. *Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff*, ed. by Friedrich Zarncke (Leipzig, 1854). The English translation as given in *The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant*, translated into rhyming couplets with introduction and commentary by Edwin H. Zeydel (Columbia University, 1944), p. 214, runs as follows:

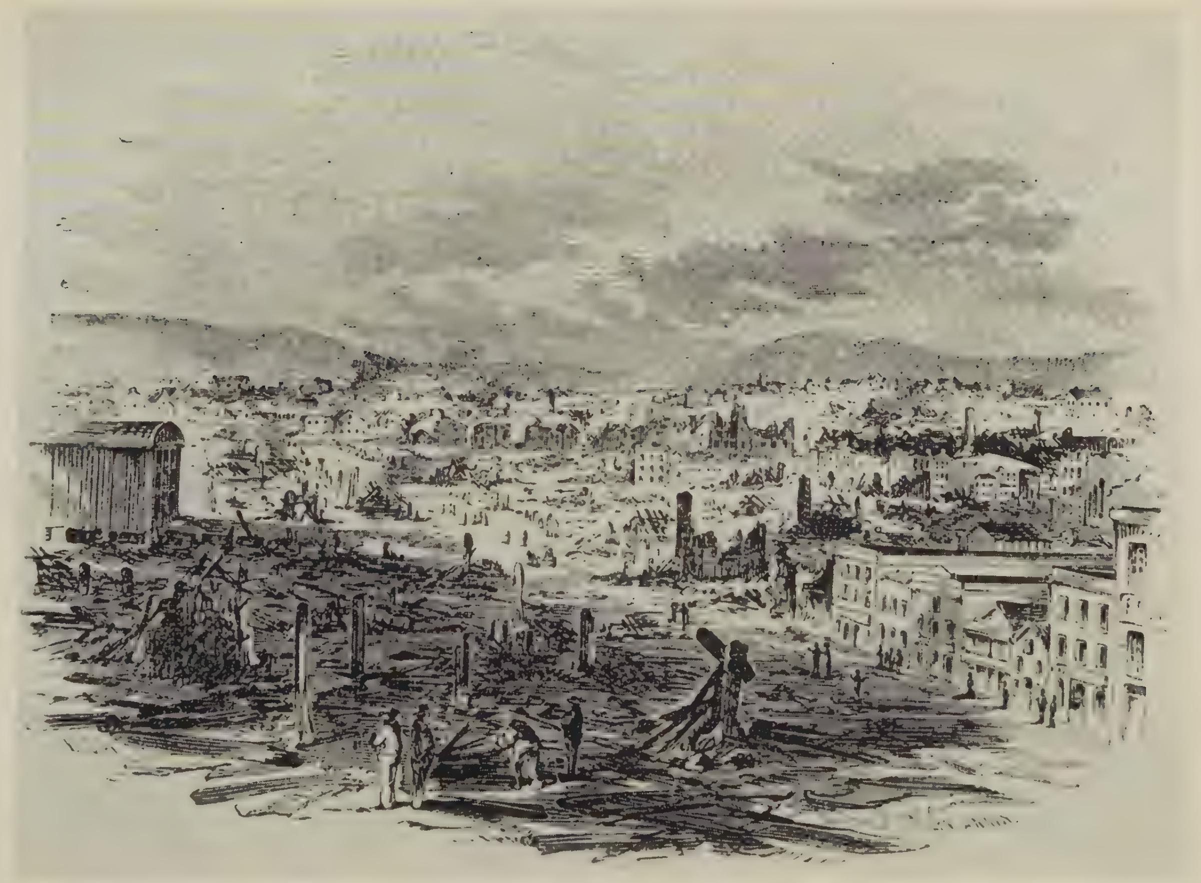
> "If women's talk is our contention / Calphurnia should come to mention."

17. It is interesting to note that one of the Latin teachers of Locher was the Paduan professor of classics, John Calphurnius. Cf. F. A. Pompen, *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools—A Contribution to the History of the Early French Renaissance in England* (London, 1925), p. 275.

18. *The Ship of Fools*, translated by Alexander Barclay (Edinburgh-London edition of 1874), II, 5.

19. Ch. Ph. Sherman, *Roman Law in the Modern World* (Boston, 1917), p. 276.

20. Cf. Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 279. At any rate, the two Montalvos were contemporaries and held important state offices, which strongly indicates acquaintance, if not blood relationship.



SAN FRANCISCO, after the fire of May 4, 1851
Reproduced from Frank Soulé *et al*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 332

Paradox Town

San Francisco in 1851[1]

By Julia Cooley Altrocchi

IT IS obvious that a frontier town must pass through the stages of pioneering roughness towards a semblance of order, pattern, urbanity.[2] In every such community there comes a period when the chaos and order-in-the-making are in such vigorous encounter that the situation is charged with paradoxes. Although the general phenomenon is likely to be much the same in every frontier community, the paradoxical manifestations differ in quality, quantity, proportion, and rhythm-of-change.

In this community portrait-sketch, it is my purpose to take the transitional year 1851 and to present, chiefly from primary sources, certain contrasting phenomena of that year which may serve to re-animate the dramatic personality of San Francisco in its early guise of a paradox town. The year 1851 has been selected because, in 1849, the elements of disorder were more dominant than the elements of order; and in 1850, although elements of urbanity and "culture" were developing, the contrasts were not so numerous, the paradoxes not so arresting as in San Francisco's first full year as a city in a member-state of the Union. Eighteen hundred and fifty-one was, in short, the year when so many border violences still disrupted the growing patterns of refinement that a highly-organized vigilance committee was considered necessary.[3]

POLYGLOT—AND THE SEXES

By 1851, the ingenious American invaders had succeeded in making debtors and mortgagees of many of the original Spanish-speaking ranch owners, taking over the great golden valleys, piece by piece, and driving their proprietors into small holdings; Hispanic influences were, therefore, no longer predominant on the San Francisco scene.[4] As to the little city's human ingredients, after the subsidence of the first gold rush, the *Alta California* of January 23, 1851, under the heading, OUR CITY'S TASTE, commented: "Four years ago San Francisco was a ranch of some thirty adobe huts, all told; it is now a city of about 30,000 inhabitants." The main components were Anglo Saxon, with a large admixture of French, Italians, Germans, Chinese, Mexicans (Sonorans), and Chileans.[5]

Perhaps as important in influence as racial numbers was the gender of the population. H. H. Bancroft shrewdly remarked, "Woman played her part in early California annals, her influence being abnormal as much by reason of its absence as its presence."[6] In 1851 she was very definitely beginning to play a part, for in that year more and more of the reputable ladies were entering the harbor along with shiploads of the fair disreputables—domestic pigeons winging their way in with the "soiled doves," as the lingo of the day expressed it.[7]

Under the heading, LADIES IN SAN FRANCISCO, the *Alta* of February 4, 1851, remarked:

> We are pleased to see that each succeeding steamer is bringing to California the wives and families of many of our merchants and mechanics who have preceded them and built for them a home amongst us. It looks civilized and christianlike to see ladies daily passing along our streets, amusing themselves in that nevertiring occupation of shopping. The happy influence of woman in a new country is a great one, and we hope soon to see society established in San Francisco with all the pleasant relations that are enjoyed in our Atlantic States.

On June 27, the re-enraptured editor writes, under the heading, INFLUX OF FEMALES:

> During the last few months there has been a most marked increase of the gentler sex into our city.... Both during the day and evening the rustling of silks and soft musical voices are quite familiar sounds, and with the silent accompaniment of fresh blooming and pleasant faces, exercise a most pleasurable influence over the minds of the male portion of our citizens, whose repeated wordly misfortunes have had a tendency not only to make them sad and dispirited but misanthropic. The presence of woman has a proverbially humanizing influence in society.

HEARTHSTONES

But before the "females" of San Francisco turned their efforts outward towards improving and polishing the metropolis, they effected the building of their own walls and the organization of their own domestic lives.[8] On January 14, 1851, the *Alta* recorded that, "The numbering of houses in Washington street was commenced yesterday morning." On February 7, in the column, CITY INTELLIGENCE, on the editorial page, the same journal rhapsodized on the condition of Happy Valley:

> What a change has taken place there now. Where stood tents, large and elegant structures have been raised.... Hills of sand have disappeared and through them have been cut broad and level streets....

Once again on March 20 the editor expanded on the subject:

> San Francisco can boast of some beautiful little specimens of cottage residences as there are in the world.... Beside these [in Happy Valley] there are some on the hillsides toward the Presidio, neatly ornamented. These handsome little residences are a great relief to the eye in this city of jumbled-together buildings.

There was still drifting sand in the dry season, blowing in from the yet-unmatted and unplanted sand dunes, and the "wetting-down carts" were familiar sights on the few streets.[9] In winter there was still the mud to which innumerable references were made in the literature of the day.[10] Mission Street, San Francisco's first "boulevard," had been the first long driveway to be planked. In 1850, as recorded in the San Francisco *Directory* for 1852-53, "the principal streets were graded and laid with planks. Commercial Street from Montgomery to Kearny was first completed."[11]

Accordingly, in 1851, we can picture the streets as rough and uneven, a few of them planked, the rest muddy or dusty as the season might condition them. Along these walked or rode the citizens, including the candy man,[12] the daguerreotype man in his wagon,[13] the dust-cart drivers, the organ grinders,[14] the "live Yankee peddling his cart-load of books."[15]

Many families still lived in select boarding-houses and hotels, where they remained for years, making friendships, marital partnerships and business associations.[16] The *Alta* of December 5, 1851, mentioned the sociables and bachelors' balls currently taking place at the Oriental, at the Rassette House, and the Tehama House; or a visitor might find charades in progress or guessing games, blindman's buff, chess, checkers, cards, singing, and now and then impromptu acting.[17] A contemporary author refers to the grandfather and mother of a recently deceased talented daughter of San Francisco as living at one of these *hostelries*:[18] "Mr. Franklin, handsome and to the manner born and of the Bank of California, lived there [at Pettit's Boarding House[19]] with his attractive fifteen-year-old daughter, Gertrude, who became the mother of Gertrude Atherton."

BENISONS

One week after the fire of June 22, 1851, the *Alta* of Sunday, June 29, reported: "Religious Services: During the fire of Sunday last but one of our city churches was destroyed and it is probable that it will be rebuilt in a very short time." Then followed a list of some dozen churches in which religious services would be held on that day.[20] Four days later (July 3, 1851), the *Alta* announced the first of San Francisco's long pageants of fairs: "The Ladies of Trinity Church will hold a Fair in the California Exchange[21] for the purpose of raising a fund towards the completion of their church." On July 6 the theme was again taken up:

> The Ladies' Fair. Throughout the Fourth a lively interest was kept up by the attractions presented at the Ladies Fair. Not alone the fair ladies who were there could claim admiration, but the quantity, the variety and quality of goods offered to visitors elicited much remark. We believe the purchases were quite spirited. Last evening the articles remaining were sold at auction and the Fair closed.

In his *History of California*, Bancroft remarked: "Although benevolent associations had been started in 1849 by the male community, they received their encouragement mainly with the growth of families"; with the result that in 1851 one Catholic orphan asylum (Mt. St. Joseph's School) and one Protestant (the San Francisco Protestant Orphanage) were established.[22] This same year, as the *Alta* of April 3 notes, French Sisters of Charity appeared on the streets of San Francisco.

THE THREE R'S

Schools, under the Anglo-Saxon impetus, had begun as early as April 1847 in San Francisco.[23] In 1851 an addition was made to this field, through an advertisement inserted in the *Alta* of June 19, by Mrs. E. M. Parker, the former Mrs. Elizabeth Maria Bonney Wills, who had arrived in San Francisco in 1849 as correspondent for the New Orleans *Delta*. She had taken the community by storm with her beauty and gifts ("a sumptuous-looking dame she was"), and had been commissioned by the city council to write an ode for the first Admission Day celebration, where her appearance in the procession and at the reception afterwards was said to have been regal.[24] Her advertisement read as follows:

> FEMALE INSTITUTE: Mrs. E. M. Parker would respectfully inform her friends and the public that she will open a Female Institute on Monday June 16th, at the corner of Green and Dupont Streets. By long experience and eminent success in teaching, Mrs. Parker feels assured in believing that she will be able to give entire satisfaction to those who may commit their daughters to her charge. The morals and manners of her pupils will be carefully attended to and the discipline, though mild, will be firm and steady. English, French, Spanish, Music and Drawing will be taught on moderate terms, always in advance.... References: Rev. F. Mines, Rev. A. Williams, Judge McHenry, Hon. R. N. Morrison, Col. J. D. Stevenson, Capt. J. L. Folsom, Capt. J. Simpton, Dr. A. J. Bowie, Dr. J. Hastings, Dr. M. A. Richter, J. J. Chauviteau, Esq., A. P. Brinsmade, J. M. Crane, J. E. Durivage Esq., F. C. Ewer Esq....

Mrs. Parker's charms had so prevailed that, in addition to this announcement, the *Alta* ran an editorial on the same day, concluding with the "golden opinion":

> Mrs. Parker is a lady fully qualified to instruct, being an accomplished scholar and used to forming the youthful mind. Her tastes are all purely literary, and we feel assured from a full knowledge of her talent and estimable qualities, that a fitter instructress and guardian of youth could not be found in our State.

Mr. and Mrs. John C. Pelton, who had brought their school equipment around the Horn from Boston in 1849 and had established their free school in December of that year,[25] were proceeding with great success in 1851. The *Alta* of February 7 editorialized on EDUCATION IN SAN FRANCISCO and on the Pelton school in particular. It was being conducted in the Baptist chapel on Washington Street and teaching about 160 pupils (boys and girls between the ages of three and fifteen). "The scholars are engaged in every variety of study from the alphabet to algebra and the smiling, happy faces they wear show that they are pleased with their occupations." The writer then discussed the precarious financial condition of the school and strongly urged its support.

Numerous language teachers were also advertising their wares. Mr. Rodriguez Palmer announced in the *Alta* of June 29 his readiness to teach Spanish, Italian, French, and English. The San Francisco *Directory* listed him in the following year (1852-53) as a teacher of languages residing at 226 Washington Street. A very persistent teacher of French, whose advertisements reappeared in the *Alta* for several months, inserted her first notice on January 21, 1851:

Instruction in French. A lady recently arrived from Paris is desirous to give lessons in the French language to ladies or gentlemen, singly or in classes—at home or in their houses. Terms moderate. Address A. B. at the office of this paper.

THE HIGHER LITERACIES

In 1851 came the initial agitation for a public library and a museum, several members of the Vigilance Committee of that year sponsoring the idea. On October 4, the *Alta* commented:

> There has long been a vacuum in this city which a good library and reading room would soon fill. There has been no place whatever to attend save a saloon, drinking house or billiard room. One or two attempts have been made ... but they have proved failures, if we except the German Society ... and the Union Association, the property of which was destroyed by the May fire.... Mr. Shelton, the botanist and mineralogist, has made the Committee a valuable donation from his collection.... S. E. Woodworth Esq. has given it a fine library. Also ... Maj. Boyd and Capt. William A. Howard have each made it presents of cabinets of specimens from the various Islands of the Pacific.

The formation of an art association, on a cultural rather than a gallery-promoting basis, was yet fourteen years away,[26] but there were already definite stirrings of art appreciation. On February 10, in the "City Intelligence" column, the *Alta* carried the following item:

> SAN FRANCISCO ART UNION. We have been requested to state that the proprietors of the above named Gallery of Paintings will appropriate one half of their entire receipts of Tuesday, tomorrow evening, to the erection of a new church for the congregation of Rev. Dr. [J. L.] Ver Mehr. The Gallery is at No. 277 Montgomery street.

Some three weeks later (April 3), the same journal reported:

> The San Francisco Art Union collection of pictures will be disposed of at auction at the Gallery, 227 Montgomery street, opposite Delmonico's. This collection was selected with great care ... in New York and will be found to contain works of great beauty and merit, well worthy the attention of connoisseurs.

More specifically, the art taste of the day is suggested by an item in the *Alta* of June 28:

> Wainwright, Byrne and Co. Real Estate and Merchandise Auctioneers: At their old stand, 276 Montgomery street. James E. Wainwright, Auctioneer: A Large Invoice of Pictures: 1 cabinet portrait of Washington, by Turnbull. 2 Esmeraldas, engravings. 2 Paul and Virginias, ditto; 10 female heads, ditto; five oil paintings, landscapes by Richardson. 13 landscapes, French scenes.

In the meantime, books, newspapers and magazines (*Godey's Lady's Book*, *Harper's New Monthly*, the *Illustrated London News*, *London Punch*, to mention only a few of those announced in the *Alta* of January 9) were arriving by clipper ship and steamer. Among "New Books for California," Burgess, Gilbert and Still, in the *Alta* of February 5, 1851, listed *The Ladder of Gold*, an English story; *Isabella*, by the author of *An Autobiography of an Orphan Girl; Celio or New York Above Ground and Under Ground*, by G. G. Foster, Esq.; *David Copperfield*, complete, illustrated by Boz; et cetera.

Of the status of San Francisco's own newspapers, at the date of its issue of January 23, 1851, the *Alta* has this to say:

> San Francisco is . . . by not a few looked upon as a Sodom of wickedness, a Thebes in want of literary taste. . . . But we maintain now 10 newspapers, 8 of them daily papers, one weekly, and the other semi-occasionally. . . . In the order of formation thus: *Alta, News, Journal of Commerce, Herald-Courier, Picayune, Balance No. 1, Balance No. 2, Shipping List, Dr. Rabe's Punch.*

A day-by-day comparison of the character of news items and advertisements appearing between 1850 and 1860 in the *Alta California* and in the Newburyport *Herald*, published at a point very nearly opposite San Francisco on the east coast, reveals a number of not uninteresting facts: there were in the East, for instance, more accidents by lamps and by lightning (which is almost unknown as a casualty agent in the western city); more duels, surprising as it may seem, in the ratio of ten to one; about twenty times as many east-coast advertisements of medicines and health aids, such as Penobscot Indian cures, Clark's Bitters, Mortimore's Rheumatic Compound and Blood Purifier, Dr. J. A. Tilton's Balm of a Thousand Flowers—most of such panaceas apparently not required in healthy young San Francisco.[27] There were many more suicides in the East, although San Francisco had suffered her quota in the earlier gold rush. But I am constrained to report that there were more fires in San Francisco and almost ten times as many cowhidings as were meted out in the East.

MUMMERY

San Francisco has always had a special zeal for the theater. Many books and articles have been written on the town and the drama, but a more intimate feeling of participation is to be gained by reading contemporaneous articles about the building and opening of theaters and the plays presented on their stages. In the pages of the *Alta* of 1851, the dramatic pageant unrolls before us: January 8, at the Jenny Lind there is a presentation of "Did You Ever Send Your Wife to the Mission Dolores?"; January 18, the French Vaudeville Company is said to be a great success; April 6, a new theater to seat 2000 is to be built—"Heretofore the ladies have objected to the Jenny Lind's nearness to the gambling joints."[28] And on April 21, speaking of the Jenny Lind Vaudevilles, the *Alta's* critic wrote:

> Notwithstanding the attractions of the Circus and the French Company at the Adelphi, the New French Company at the Jenny Lind had a very fine audience, mostly of French citizens, and their performances seemed to give unlimited satisfaction. There is so much spirit, animation and nature in their style, that a knowledge of their language is scarcely necessary to a tolerably correct appreciation of their presentations.

On July 8 it is reported that a theater is in process of erection in Dupont Street opposite the Post Office. It is a very spacious building, says the paper, and will be opened in about three weeks, under the control of Mesdames Adalbert, Leonore and Racine.[29] By July 23 the news in the *Alta* is that:

> The new French Theatre on Dupont street . . . will be opened in a few days. The outside is very neat and the inside will be arranged with a dress circle tier of boxes and a parquette, so that five or six hundred persons can be seated comfortably. The French Vaudeville Company, which will perform in this theatre, is a good one.

Two days later, as reported in the *Alta* of July 26, the proprietors leased the theater to Dr. Robinson[30] ("late of the Dramatic Museum") *et al* for six months, the arrangement being that the French Company was to enact vaudevilles on Sunday evenings, and on the other evenings the dramatic company of Dr. Robinson would perform.

On October 4, we read, in the *Alta*, about another venture:

> The magnificent Theatre [the re-built Jenny Lind] of Mr. Maguire,[31] now near completion, opens tonight with one of the best stock companies we have yet seen on this coast. The plays are "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady" and "All That Glitters is Not Gold." . . . One feature of the evening's performance is the opening address which will be delivered by Mrs. Woodward . . . the leading actress. She appears for the first time before a San Francisco audience tonight.

And four days later (October 8), the Jenny Lind gets the following write-up:

> Another large and select audience greeted the performances last night at this beautiful theatre. A number of ladies graced the first tier of boxes, whose arrival in California has occurred within the present week. Their "all smiles and attention" testified the admiration with which they regarded this evidence of California's theatrical taste and abilities. The performance went off glibly.

In the *Alta* of October 16, a full description is given of the American Theater,[32] with its ceiling of "great gold rayed sun and clouds," its first tier with "white pillars," and its second tier "white and gold," etc.

Albert Bénard de Russailh, an observer of the time, waxes enthusiastic over the American Theater in his book, *Last Adventure*. He describes its very thick carpets, red velvet curtains, red plush box seats and gilt work, and the paintings[33]; and his remarks on the exuberance of San Franciscans at the play will serve to end these brief glimpses of the theater of 1851. According to de Russailh, whistling at a European actor paralyzes him; however,

> . . . with Americans, whistling is an expression of enthusiasm; the more they like a play, the louder they whistle, and when a San Francisco audience bursts into shrill whistles and savage yells, you may be sure they are in raptures of joy.[34]

DO, RE, MI; AND ONE, TWO, THREE, KICK!

San Francisco was also tasting the pleasures of music. On July 16, the *Alta* ran the announcement:

> A Grand Promenade Concert à la Jullien [*sic*]. Will take place on Wednesday evening, July 16th at 8 o'clock in the splendid new Saloon of the Athenæum in Sacramento St. below Montgomery.[35] The managers confidently expect that this entertainment will be found in every respect worthy of the support and patronage of the citizens of San Francisco. All the available musical talent now in the city, comprising an orchestra of eighteen musicians, has been engaged and proper measures have been taken to

preserve the strictest order and decorum. [The concert was to be the first in a series.]

Pianos for private use were coming in by the dozen. No longer, as for Stephen Massett's concert of June 22, 1849, was there only one piano in town.[36] The *Alta* of April 16 announced:

> Pianos! Pianos! For sale low, at George O. Whitney's Furniture Warerooms, splendid Piano-fortes of Gale's and other makers just received, per ships Florida and Robert Hooper.... Call and see; on Sacramento st., corner of Webb, between Montgomery and Kearny.

Other advertisements of pianos for sale by commission merchants show that F. A. Woodworth and Co., importers of pianofortes, 130 Clay Street, was only one of a number of firms through which these instruments could be obtained.[37] For instance, on October 2, 1851, Mr. W. McKorkell, the pianist, announced to the "élite of San Francisco" that he was prepared to give lessons on the piano and to help in the selection of pianos at Mr. Atwill's Musical Repository on the Plaza.[38]

San Francisco has been a dancing city,[39] from the era of the Indian tribal dances around the shellmounds near the bay, on, through the baile, fandango, and cascaron (egg shell filled with confetti) balls of the Spanish-speaking residents. In 1851 balls were of frequent occurrence. The *Alta* of Wednesday, March 19, 1851, says, under CITY INTELLIGENCE:

> ... A masquerade ball comes off at Cole's California Exchange, this evening, at which the Japanese, who were brought to our harbor in the barque, Auckland, will attend in their native costume. This will be a good, and perhaps the only opportunity that our citizens will have of seeing these singular beings, the first[40] of their tribe who ever set foot upon American soil, and who have voluntarily shut themselves out from the remainder of the world. They will be treated with the greatest degree of respect by Mr. Cole and his associates, and will doubtless be highly pleased with the entertainment, and, when they return to their native land, have a good story to tell of the manner in which they were treated by the Americans.

The masqued ball as an instrument of diplomacy was a success, the *Alta* of March 20 reporting that the Japanese guests "appeared to be very much pleased with the music and dancing of the 'outside barbarians.'" In fact, from February 11, when the *Alta* remarked that balls "appear to be the order of the day in San Francisco. We have masquerade balls, fancy balls, full dress balls and balls where attention is not paid to dress," until the close of 1851, press notices of the "barbarians" in the role of dancers follow in quick succession, with a particularly well attended ball reported in the *Alta* of November 7, when five hundred participated and "elegant cakes and ice cream" were served.

But there was one newsman who was not ashamed to be wistful about former times. On October 20, 1851, he wrote in the *Alta:*

> How seldom it is that we meet an old-fashioned fandango such as we used to see here four years ago. The sound of music on Dupont street attracted our attention as we passed along. How the old time came o'er us! It was sure enough the fandango of old California. We forgot for the moment the rush for gold ... the fires, the present elegance of balls and hotels and lived for the moment in the past only. When we

returned to the present, we thought how strange the contrast between San Francisco and Yerba Buena....

PALATABLES AND POTABLES

Another form of urbanity in entertainment was to be found in the restaurants, for whose good fare the city was already beginning to show signs of its fame-to-be.

On January 7, 1851, the *Alta* carried an advertisement of the Fountain Head, Bassett and Winn proprietors, Clay street, "where the greatest variety of candies ever displayed in this country will be found." Winn had started out as early as 1849, vending his candy in the streets from a tray, with the cry: "Here is your own California candy!" (By 1856 his Fountain Head had become one of the most elegant eating and catering establishments in town.[41])

Food-publicity items increased in frequency and piquancy during 1851.[42] For example, in the *Alta* for January 22, the Venetian Restaurant, Jackson Street, between Kearny and Montgomery, advertised, "At this well-known resort of the lovers of good eating, Joseph will serve up tomorrow (Wed.) with his usual good taste and skill a fine green Turtle in Soups and Steaks." The turtle-terrapin trade was to grow to large epicurean proportions.[43]

Another attraction, "Wild Game," served as a heading for a paragraph on the editorial page of the *Alta* of February 8, 1851, in which the writer discourses on the city's food resources. According to this expert,

> An epicure can enjoy in San Francisco at present most of the luxuries of the best markets on the Atlantic Coast, and in the item of wild game we excel them all. Our market is full of fat geese, ducks, curlew and snipe, to say nothing of the enormous grizzlies and fat venison that are daily brought from the Contra Costa.

On April 13, the *Alta* announced that Clayton's Oyster Saloon had commenced business at Montgomery and Commercial. Skipping over to November, we find in the *Alta* on the tenth of that month: "Neptune be praised! A bed of oysters has been planted on the coast above the mouth of the harbor, the resultant oysters are large and delicious and a saloon on Kearny St. will serve them." What the name of the "saloon" was may be found in the issue of November 15: "The Oyster Saloon opened at last—on Kearny street just north of the Custom House. Oysters actually in the shell! Messers William Russell and brother and W. Revere."[44]

At Mrs. Whitney's Commercial Street saloon, "Ice-cream . . . a very palatable compound" was offered to tongues scorched with the "blue ruin" of such drinks as Stingo, Horns, White Lion, Whistler, Old Sea Dog, Eye Opener, One Eyed Joe, Deacon, Moral Suasion, Tug and Try, Vox Populi, and I. O. U. (as listed by Hinton Helper in the *Land of Gold*[45]), or with Jersey Lightnin', one of the potables served in Long-Wharf taverns, "a gill of which would stop a steamboat," as the *Alta* of July 18 expressed it. If one insists on palliatives, another in that class was reported in the *Alta* of June

27, 1851, where "a cargo of fine Baldwin apples from Boston packed in ice" is said to have arrived, via the Horn, in good condition.

ADORNMENT NOVELTIES, CHIEFLY BIFID

If, as Carlyle's Herr Teufelsdröckh remarks in *Sartor Resartus*,[46] "Society is founded upon cloth," then, to all appearances, San Francisco was in 1851 developing a textural foundation for *its* society. Every ship brought in handsome new items in cloth, kid, and jewelry, as well as in parlor fittings. For instance, in the *Alta* of February 3, we read that E. Mickle & Co., foot of Clay Street, have on sale, "2 splendid carved Sofas, covered with crimson damask. 2 splendid tête-à-tête chairs, ditto. 2 splendid carved, marble-top side tables. 6 splendid Jim Ring book-cases. Also, an assortment of lacquered boxes with a variety of arm chairs. . . ." While, on February 5, the ladies are informed that they can obtain, "White satin and kid slippers, black kid and bronze colored ditto, Jenny Lind ties, Polka boots . . . morocco kid and calf boots of every style" at Kelsey, Smith, & Risley, Clay Street, 3 doors above Montgomery, on March 7 they are further tempted in the *Alta* by Hayes & Bailey, Clay Street, opposite the French Theater, who advise that they have just received, per steamer *Caroline*, an entire new stock of jewelry and silver ware.

Fashion extended even to the children. A news item in the *Alta* of December 19 comments on "The little Lee boys in a little buggy drawn by a span of goats. . . . The harness brass-mounted. . . . The little boy who drives wears gloves. . . . Both very stylishly dressed and jaunty."

In one particular respect San Francisco in 1851 was already exhibiting some of its fashion freedoms and originalities. On July 7, the *Alta*, under the heading, BOSTON NOTIONS AND BLOOMER FASHIONS, discusses "bifidity" in general, and suggests that California is suited to it and should receive the innovation with less surprise because of the prevalence of the Chinese women's bifurcated costume along San Francisco's streets.[47] The next day, appeared the following description, unaltered as to spelling:

> THE NEW STYLE OF DRESS. The new style of ladies' dresses has already been introduced into San Francisco. Mrs. Cole, who has a ladies' dress store on Clay Street, next door to Messers Kelsey, Smith and Risley, has received the patterns and not only has a figure in the window with the dress on, but wears one herself in her store. It is really very pretty . . . Mrs. Cole's dress consists of green merino, fitting well to the figure above the waist and reaching below the knee some 3 or 4 inches. Below this are loose, flowing trowsers of pink satin, fastened below the ancle . . . Mrs. Cole has already received orders for three dresses and the ladies appear to like it but from its singularity scarcely dare adopt it at present.

Mrs. Cole was a realistic window-advertiser, as may be seen from the following comment in the *Alta* of July 11:

> THE NEW DRESS. . . . Mrs. Cole has placed a new figure in her window which gives a much better idea of the dress than the former hurriedly got-up doll. The living models inside, however, attract the greatest attention. The adoption of the new dress will

destroy some of the poetical ideas which have associated themselves with the long skirts. The old couplet: "Her feet beneath her petticoat/ Like little mice stole in and out," will have to be changed to something like: "Her feet from out her trouserloons/ Hang like the cars from air balloons."

The innovation was anything but static, for, on July 14 the *Alta* said,

> A Touch Beyond the Bloomer: The city was taken quite by surprise yesterday afternoon by observing a woman in company with her male companion, crossing the lower side of the Plaza, dressed in a style a little beyond the Bloomer. She was magnificently arrayed in a black satin skirt, very short, with flowing red satin trousers, a splendid yellow crape shawl and a silk turban *à la Turque*. She really looked magnificent and was followed by a large retinue of men and boys, who appeared to be highly pleased with the style.

On August 17 the *Alta* reported, with composure, that "two very respectable ladies of San Francisco are seen in bloomers—and unexceptionable bloomers." And on the twenty-eighth of that month it replaced the latitudinal preposition, "beyond," used before, by one more specifically directional, thus: "A Touch Above the Bloomer: A lady appears in bloomers and a man's tile hat, new and glossy, and attracts much attention."

Thereafter the bloomer excitement suffered a gradual deflation.

QUADRUPEDAL PERFORMANCES

In 1851 horse-drawn equipages appeared in number and elegance on the dirt or plank streets of San Francisco, and the community was very proud of these conveyances which brought the vehicular splendors of the Atlantic states to western roadways.[48] But among them appeared the "reckless Jehus," the drivers of "fast crabs,"[49] who insisted on spurring their steeds along the road to the Mission or along Stockton Street at twenty miles an hour, endangering the lives of pedestrians and forcing enactment of laws against speeding.[50] The necessity, also, of protecting the property of those drivers observing the more conventional rates of locomotion can be understood from the following in the *Alta* of June 15:

> Handsome Turn-Outs. In former days, those who did not walk in San Francisco rode on a native horse with the clumsy but comfortable California saddle and sported spurs something less than a foot and a half in diameter. Now, however, our streets are graced with some very handsome turn-outs, in the shape of carriages, buggies, chaises and almost every vehicle known in the Atlantic States. . . .[51] We yesterday saw, standing in Montgomery street, a handsome buggy and beautiful pair of white horses with gay trappings. They form as pretty a turn-out as is often seen anywhere.

Among the drivers of "handsome equipages," unfortunately, were not only the members of substantial families, but gamblers, murderers—the dubious ones[52]; a fact which brings us to the paradoxical happenings mentioned in the first two paragraphs of this paper. They might be summarized as:

URBANITY IN REVERSE

Aside from exhibitions of personal violence, the year 1851 saw two more holocausts sear the city. The fire on May 3-4 destroyed a thousand buildings, and the red reflection on the sky was said to have been visible as far as Monterey; and there was still another fire on June 22.[53] Catastrophes of this kind exposed, in some places, the thinness of the urban crust. A young sailor, newly arrived off a French ship, was reported as having been seen walking up the wharfside hill, innocently observing the smouldering ruins about him. Wishing to light his pipe, he stooped to pick up a live coal. An excited citizen, seeing the gesture, cried out, "Incendiary!" and in a matter of moments, the boy was kicked to death by the crowd.[54]

On the other side of the picture were the recuperative powers of the city. Bénard de Russailh remarked: "Even while his house is burning, an American will think only of how to rebuild it. He lets his friends save the furniture, jumps on his horse, and gallops like mad to the next town, so that he can arrive before the news of the fire and buy building material before the prices have gone up."[55]

A few quotations from the *Alta California* of 1851 will serve to show the extent of the large and small savage, frontier episodes that made up the grim side of the town's record. The issue of January 8 contains a "Notice to Timber Thieves and Wharf Rats. . . . They Will be Shot." It is signed by George Gordon, Lumber and Timber Agent, California Street Wharf. On January 14 a horse thief is arrested, and on the nineteenth a duel is fought on the Mission Road. January 28: "We saw," says a reporter, "a drunken hombre yesterday riding into some of the saloons on the plaza à la Tom Hyer. It is time these scenes of rowdyism ceased to be allowed among us." "When," asks the *Alta* on February 7, "is our city to be lighted with gas? The frequent night robberies . . . demand of the city authorities that something should be done."[56] On April 3 appears the following:

> MORE COWHIDING. Two brothers of this city had a rencounter on Sansome St. yesterday afternoon in which one used a cowhide pretty freely with the other. Cowhiding is getting to be a pretty popular amusement in this city, and we think an invoice of cow hides and large-sized riding-whips would meet with a ready sale amongst us.

Cryptically (?) the *Alta* of May 31 said: "As wives become more plentiful, flogging increases." But there is nothing hidden in the statement on page 19 of Parker's San Francisco *Directory* of 1852-53 that "On the night of June 10 [11], 1851, Jenkins was hanged by the Vigilance Committee from a beam at the end of the old adobe in the Plaza." Nor can one be in doubt as to conditions obtaining in San Francisco, when the leading editorial in the *Alta* of June 13 says,

> THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE: We publish, by request, in another column, the constitution and bye-lays [*sic*] of the recently organized Society of Citizens, who have associated themselves together under the name of the Vigilance Committee for the protection of life and property and the punishment of all criminals. The names of the members signed to the document is [*sic*] a sufficient guaranty. . . . This will remove all the objections against secret organization and star-chamber proceedings. Etc.

Cheerfully, on June 19, the *Alta* remarks, "QUIETNESS: Since the name of Vigilance Committee has become an electrifier to the pests of the city, we have heard of no escape of prisoners, no breaking of jails, no cayoting from the station-house. . . ." But on June 25 we read that a Mexican was "given two dozen lashes in front of the Oriental Hotel." And three days later (June 28), a celebrated Sydney character known as the Slasher was arrested. "The County Jail being now ready to receive prisoners, it is to be hoped that 'the Slasher' will be accommodated with quarters which he will not be so ready to leave." The next month (as reported on July 12) Jim Stuart, the thief, was hanged by the Vigilance Committee at the Market Street Wharf; and on Sunday, August 24, Sam Whittaker and Robt. McKenzie met their deaths by the action of the same committee (*Alta,* August 25). A respite in violence is noted by this journal in its issue of September 12: "Yesterday was frightfully dull in incident. Nobody was killed, no coroner's inquests were held, no robberies, no legs broken. One old horse only ran away down Washington Street."

By the end of 1851, San Francisco was fully aware that, in spite of its fires, undulatory gold fever, thieves, murderers, gamblers, etc., it was destined to be a great city. Cooke & LeCount, booksellers, demonstrated this in their compilation entitled *A 'Pile'; or, A Glance at the Wealth of the Monied Men of San Francisco and Sacramento City also an Accurate List of the Lawyers*... (San Francisco, 1851). The preface proclaims the aim of the compilation to be:

> To dissipate, as far as possible, the impression entertained by those residing in the Eastern States that California, San Francisco and Sacramento City are without permanency and that our wealth, if any, consists in the possession of Real Estate, which is held at an inflated valuation.... When those who are now lavish in their epithets upon us, for sustaining what they are pleased to denominate a humbug, shall have passed away and are forgotten, San Francisco, Sacramento City, Stockton and other places of less importance, will be pointed out as evidences of the boundless resources of our State, the enterprise of her early settlers and of the breadth and solidity of that government, whose liberal principles encourage them in founding a mighty empire on the shores of the Pacific.

Steam-beer tavern-keepers? Gamblers all? Ditch diggers? Scum? as was sometimes alleged with respect to San Francisco's social origins? Far from it; but miners, merchants, sea captains, importers, attorneys, real-estate investors, many of them with the "best of connections" back East, and back South, and possessing intellectual and spiritual substance as well as the more obviously shining substance of San Francisco's sandy acres and Sierra foothill gold.

As we have seen, San Francisco was still, in 1851, violent in its contrasts—murderers and vigilance-committee members, gambling dens and churches, rum mills and fashionable restaurants, "serious affrays" and benevolent societies, bullets and bloomers, horse thieves and *Harper's Magazine.* In the frisky formative year of 1851, San Francisco was definitely a Paradox Town.

NOTES

1. An adapted chapter from *The Spectacular San Franciscans,* to be published by E. P. Dutton & Co. in its "Society in America" series.

2. Urban-mindedness is discussed by J. N. Bowman in his "Birthdays of Urban Communities, this QUARTERLY, XXIII (March 1948), 53.

3. As stated by Mary F. Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, 1921), p. 170, "the toleration of the criminal situation of 1850 and 1851 was due in part to a patient acceptance of transitional conditions, and not wholly to a selfish indifference and a blunted civic conscience."

4. James Miller Guinn, *History of the State of California*... (Los Angeles, 1909), chapter on Agriculture; also Ruth M. McG. Solovsky, "Spanish and Mexican Ranchos in the San Francisco Bay Region (manuscript)," Univ. Calif., M.A. Thesis, 1921.

5. Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California," this QUARTERLY, XIX (Dec. 1940), 323-43; XX (March 1941), 65-79, especially table on p. 340; also Julia Cooley Altrocchi, *The Old California Trail*... (Caldwell, Idaho, 1945), pp. 18, 19. See also *Alta California,* May 24, 1851, for large population of French in San Francisco.

6. H. H. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 305.

7. Oliver Carlson, *A Mirror for Californians* (Indianapolis and New York, 1941), pp. 40, 88.

8. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 666, in commenting on the noticeable absence of homes in early San Francisco, said that "stores, saloons... boarding-houses and hotels made a metropolis...."

9. See *Alta California,* June 14, 1851, for the wind which "...blew off the hats of quiet and respectable people, who in return 'blowed' the wind"; and issues of June 11 and 14, 1851, for references to the "wetting-down" carts.

10. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 282, describes mud in the early streets of San Francisco.

11. James M. Parker's *Directory* (San Francisco, 1852-53), p. 14.

12. *Alta California,* Dec. 25, 1850, tells of the candy carts at street corners, with the crying of the venders extolling the virtues of hoarhound, peppermint, etc.

13. For the daguerreotype wagon on Washington Street, see *Alta California,* Oct. 6, 1851.

14. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (1884-90), VI, 245, n. 78, speaks of organ grinding as a "profession."

15. *Alta California,* June 18, 1851.

16. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 647-52, for early San Francisco hotels; see also *The Argonaut,* Feb. 1, 1879, p. 4.

17. Lawrence family papers, now under seal at the California State Library, Sacramento, give a description of life at the early San Francisco hotels.

18. *Idem.*

19. Augustus Theodore Barry and Benjamin A. Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the Spring of '50* (San Francisco, 1873), p. 136, give the successive locations of Mrs. Pettit's boarding-house.

20. *Alta California,* Feb. 9, 1851, published a list of churches functioning at that earlier period. See also Clifford M. Drury, "A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California," this QUARTERLY (June 1947), 163-74; and Parker's *Directory, op. cit.*, p. 16, which supplies the list as of July 1850.

21. Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 665, show the interior of the California Exchange with a "Fancy Ball" in progress.

22. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 784.

23. Guinn, *op. cit.*, chapter on Education; see also Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 677-78.

24. See note 17, above; also, "Journal of Ernest de Massey. A Frenchman in the Gold Rush," translated by Marguerite E. Wilbur, this QUARTERLY, VI (March 1927), 40, n. 36; and F. A. Culmer, "'General' John Wilson . . .," *ibid.*, XXVI (Dec. 1947), 338, for mention of the lady as a correspondent of the *Picayune* and/or the *Delta*. In the collection of the Society are two reminders of Mrs. Wills: viz., one of the original printings of the ode, and the jeweled brooch given her in token of the city-council's odic appreciation.

25. H. H. Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders* (San Francisco, 1891-92), VII, chapter xix, entitled Education; and Benjamin E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 472-75; also Soulé et al, op. cit., p. 679.

26. The *Californian*, Jan. 14, 1851, describes the opening of the Art Union, "for the exhibition of alien talent and the encouragement of local talent." There is an excellent retrospective article by John S. Hittell, "Art in San Francisco," in the *Pacific Monthly* (formerly the *Hesperian)*, July 1863, 99-107.

27. In San Francisco, those indisposed in any way were advised, in the advertising section of A. W. Morgan's San Francisco *Directory* of 1852, to take Dr. Robinson's celebrated Vegetable Bitters, made of California vegetables at the factory on Telegraph Hill. Also advertised was Dr. Woodbury's California Bitters, "manufactured in this City," where there were said to be seven agents.

28. The *Alta California* of Nov. 4, 1850, notes the establishment of the Jenny Lind Theater in the second story of the Parker House on Portsmouth Square. See also Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 245, n. 75, for the various locations of the Jenny Lind. In his *California Inter Pocula*, p. 265, he remarks that this theater "was a place that few respectable persons would care to enter."

29. de Russailh, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

30. See Constance Rourke, *Troupers of the Gold Coast . . .* (New York, 1928), p. 31, for Robinson and Everard's Dramatic Museum of 1850; also, Bancroft's *History of California*, VI, 244. In the San Francisco *Directory* for 1854, D. G. Robinson (compounder of the vegetable bitters mentioned in note 27, above) is listed as a "comedian."

31. For information on Thomas Maguire as impresario, see the *Golden City*, Aug. 2, 1868, article xiv on the "Pioneer Theatre"; the *Temperance Mirror*, Jan. 24, 1857; and the *Californian*, Nov. 5, 1864.

32. The *Alta California* for Sept. 20, 1849, gave a full announcement of the first incorporation and building of the American Theater.

33. de Russailh, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

35. As to the earlier structure, the *Alta California* of May 12, 1851, announced its destruction by fire, as of that instant.

36. See Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 655, where it is said that the piano used by Massett was loaned by "Mr. E. Harrison, the collector of the port. . . ."

37. Compare the *Argonaut*, Aug. 14, 1905, p. 126. The *Californian*, Feb. 4, 1865, p. 12, speaks of the death of F. A. Woodworth, son of the author of the "Old Oaken Bucket," and gives a sketch of the former's life.

38. "McKorkle, the harpist," is referred to on Nov. 22, 1855, in Dorothy Huggins, *A Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco* (this Society, Sp. Publ. 15, 1939), p. 87; and a William McKorkle is listed in the San Francisco *Directory* for 1856-57, no profession being indicated.

39. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 243, n. 64, alludes to a masquerade ball on

Feb. 22, 1845. See George D. Lyman, "The First Masquerade Ball in San Francisco," this QUARTERLY, XI (June 1932), 142 ff.

40. An article signed by Wm. D. M., in the *Alta California* of Feb. 5, 1850, entitled "Life in San Francisco," speaks of the "perfect Babylonian combination" in San Francisco and lists Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Turks, Spaniards, the fair-haired Saxon, and others. This pre-Perry (1854) reference to Japanese on the west coast of America is interesting. See also Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 222, where mention is made of "...the Mongols, with their...cousins of Nipon," in the San Francisco throngs of 1849-50.

41. Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 642-45. The *Firemen's Journal and Military Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1856, gives a description in verse of Winn's Fountain Head.

42. On March 7, 1851, the *Alta California* announced the "Opening of the New French Restaurant, A La Ville du Havre," L. Coytier & Co., Jackson St. cor. of Kearny. Compare Robert O'Brien, "Riptides," San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 3, 1946. Barry and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 93, mention three French restaurants, as of 1850.

43. Caspar T. Hopkins made a voyage in search of sweet potatoes from Peru and terrapin from the Galapagos Islands early in 1850, which he describes in his "A Business Expedition," published in the QUARTERLY, Society of California Pioneers, June 1932.

44. Barry and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 125, attribute to Tony Oakes, Kearny St. north of Washington, the serving of the first local oysters.

45. Hinton R. Helper, *The Land of Gold* (Baltimore, 1855), p. 66.

46. Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus; The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (New York, 1831), p. 40.

47. Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818-94), woman's rights advocate and temperance worker, was a native of New York. She took up the idea of dress reform (originated by Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller) in 1849. The style at first favored seems to have been a short skirt with loose trousers gathered around the ankles.

48. For the expression "turn-outs," see the *Alta California* for June 15, 1851.

49. *Alta California*, Oct. 13, 1851, mentions "fast crabs."

50. On April 3, 1851, the *Alta* records an arrest for speeding along Stockton St.

51. The question of Upper California's first carriage has been much debated. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 300, quotes a statement to the effect that: "...in 1842-43 they began to introduce calesas and carts with spoked wheels from the United States." See I. T. Martin, compiler, *Recollections of Elizabeth Benton Frémont* (New York, 1912), p. 25, for description of a six-seated surrey built for Mrs. Frémont in New Jersey and sent around the Horn in 1849—"the only carriage in the territory."

52. de Russailh, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

53. *Alta California*, issues of May 6, May 15, and June 23, 1851, give contemporaneous descriptions of these fires; see also Parker's *Directory*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

54. Barry and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

55. de Russailh, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff.

56. The eventual introduction of gas to San Francisco streets (three miles of pipe and 84 gas lamps in place of the previous oil lamps) was celebrated with a banquet at the Oriental Hotel, Feb. 11, 1854. (*Alta California*, Feb. 12, 1854.)

THOMAS VINCENT CATOR
From original photograph in the possession of author

Thomas Vincent Cator

Populist Leader of California

By Harold F. Taggart

(Concluded)

The next day the legislature met in joint session. The Democratic council of war had arranged the absence of a Republican assemblyman from San Francisco,[24] thus assuring White of the majority. However, G. G. Goucher, senator from Napa, was so indisposed when he arrived at the capitol that he had to be taken to the office of Sam Leake, an office that overlooked the assembly chamber. Assemblyman A. J. Bledsoe, Republican of Eureka and popular Alliance member, noted the absence of both McGowan and Goucher and moved for a call of the house. John Gaffey and Leake hurriedly wheeled Goucher through the crush of the crowd to the floor to vote against the motion, although it is not known who actually responded to Goucher's name. The vote stood 59 to 60 (Kerns voting with the affirmative). The vote for senator followed that of the previous day until the name of Kerns was called. He voted for *White*, and immediately bedlam broke loose. Before the totals were announced, the impulsive Bretz jumped to his feet and in a rambling speech attacked Kerns and Cannon, charging the corrupt use of money. Cannon, who sat in the first row of the balcony, arose and shouted back amid the confusion and noise.[25] Eventually the results were announced: White 61, Cator 7, and the Republican vote widely scattered.

That same evening the many Populists in Sacramento denounced the "treachery" of Cannon and Kerns and in effect read them out of the party. As Dore had prophesied, the two men "caught fits." Populist papers were full of bitter attacks, and county Alliances passed resolutions denouncing the two men. Immediately following the election in November 1892, Populism was ready to dissolve. Then, as the fight to stand solid for the party's candidate developed, Populists found a new feeling of loyalty and pride. Some even argued that they had defeated the Republicans in 1892 and would win over the Democrats in 1894. The party had gained a resourceful leader.

1894: POPULISM CAUSES DEFEAT OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The panic of 1893 came almost with Cleveland's inauguration for his second term, after defeating Benjamin Harrison. Depression doomed many Populist farms, but it raised the political expectations of the impoverished owners. Populists were confident that the party could capitalize on the divisions within the two major parties on the money question. Following the call by Cleveland for a special session of congress, to repeal the Sherman silver-purchase act, a great protest was raised in California. Most of the Republican newspapers and many Republican politicians, a small minority of the Democratic newspapers, a larger proportion of the politicians, and all the Populist papers and leaders joined in the chorus. Cator was in his element, expounding the economics of money and the need for free coinage of silver. He spoke at a mass meeting in San Francisco sponsored by Populists; and again, in connection with a state-wide demonstration promoted by the Bimetallic League, he was the main attraction at San Jose. His papers indicate many such meetings. He debated the question with John P. Irish in the columns of the Stockton *Evening Mail*.

Congress passed the repeal, but the California delegation reflected the strong interest in free silver prevalent in the state. Five representatives voted for Bland's free-silver amendment and against repeal; two (Thomas Geary, Democrat, and Cannon) voted against the amendment and for repeal.[26] Both senators, George C. Perkins (Republican) and White, voted against repeal. Populists in California approached the election with some confidence. They knew that the clique of Cleveland appointees did not represent the rank and file of the Democratic party, and they knew, too, that the Republican editors and orators were out of step with eastern Republicanism on the money question.[27]

The People's party proceeded to woo the labor vote. The state Alliance at Fresno, October 18 and 19, 1893, helped organize the Industrial Legion, hoping to make it a "militant auxiliary of the People's Party among urban workers as the Alliance was among the farmers."[28] At a conference of Alliance men and unionists in San Francisco, February 22, 1894, a Socialist element almost wrecked the meeting. Two nights later there was a mass meeting at Metropolitan Hall. "Every reference to a political union of California farm workers and wage earners was loudly cheered."[29] Cator, J. V. Webster, and A. W. Thompson, editor of the *People's Press*, were the speakers. While the Populist leaders, such as Cator, held aloof, individual Populists participated in the organization of such armies of unemployed as "General" Fry's, which left Los Angeles on March 16 and "General" Kelley's, which started from San Francisco on April 3 with 600 men. Cator took part in a mass meeting at Metropolitan Hall on July 6, which had been called by the Populists in sympathy with the striking railway union.[30]

Leading up to the state convention, the county conventions, on the direction of Cator, instructed delegates to oppose fusion. The state convention was held in the capitol at Sacramento. J. V. Webster, a farmer of Creston, who had been a member of the constitutional convention of 1879 and a leader in farmer organizations since that year, was nominated for governor over D. T. Fowler of Fresno. Cator was unanimously nominated for U. S.

senator. In recognition of labor, A. J. Gregg, carpenter of Alameda, was nominated for lieutenant-governor and M. McGlynn, a printer of San Francisco, was named for secretary of state. John Dore was placed on the ticket for controller. One of the planks in a long, involved platform opposed fusion with any other party. The Republicans nominated M. M. Estee for governor; the Democrats, James Budd.

The Populists waged a vigorous campaign. Cator spoke in practically every city and town in the state, each speech a lecture on money and the need for the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. Webster and Dore toured the coast and the valleys. A Democratic editor reported to Thomas Geary: "... Half of our forces have gone over to the Populists and the A. P. A.'s are raising the d---l with all the parties."[31] R. H. Beamer, shrewd Democratic member of the board of equalization, sized up the situation in June:

> Criticisms of the administration fill the air. It requires a good deal to stand up and meet the issues that are presented. I think the Republicans will carry the state. The Populists will poll about 60,000.... My greatest fear is in the Populists. It is my opinion that Democrats will predominate in that organization this year.

Beamer went on to say that he would have received the endorsement of the Populists but for the "iron rule of Thomas V. Cator."[32]

The voters gave the Republicans a sweeping victory, except in the case of governor: Budd received 111,944 votes, Estee 110,738 and Webster 51,304.[33] Dore received the largest vote of any Populist, 68,450. Six Republicans and one Democrat were elected to congress. Only one Populist, J. L. Barker of Santa Barbara, was elected to the legislature on a straight ticket. Two were elected as a result of fusion with Republicans—Calvin Ewing of San Francisco, and A. J. Bledsoe of Eureka. Although the party had doubled its vote, certain Populists were disturbed; looking to office, they saw a definite disadvantage in the middle-of-the-road policy.

CALIFORNIA SHOUTS "16 TO 1"

The year 1895 was filled in California with propaganda for free silver, stimulated chiefly by Republican members of the Bimetallic League and by Republican editors. This worried sincere Populists, such as Dore, who did not want to give up the principles of Populism for any political advantage that might be obtained from the support of silver. The Alliance was disintegrating, the Industrial Legion had folded completely, a large proportion of the Populist press had faded out, and Socialists were creeping into the councils of urban Populism. Other Populists followed national leaders, such as H. E. Taubeneck, in the movement to collaborate with the silver men in the wistful hope that the People's party would carry the banner of silver in 1896. Cator worked together with George W. Baker, an attorney for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and head of the Bimetallic League, to popularize silver.

A state-wide silver convention was held in San Francisco, August 19-21, 1895, promoted by Baker, Timothy Guy Phelps, a Republican leader since 1858, and such newspapers as the San Francisco *Chronicle*. Cator was one of the main speakers on the second day. According to the *Examiner*, "he took advantage of the opportunity to do some veiled missionary work for the Populist cause."[34] The purpose of Baker was served. The names of the men at the convention, and the sympathetic publicity given throughout the state, convinced Democrat and Republican alike that the success of his particular party in 1896 hinged on its endorsement of free silver. Most of the Populists were resentful that the silver men had not come to them. William Jennings Bryan visited the bay region in September 1895, combining vacation with a silver campaign and probably "with an eye to the nourishment of a Presidential boom."[35] Baker presided at the San Francisco meeting and invited Phelps, Samuel Shortridge and Cator to the speaker's platform.

Baker promoted a debate on the silver question. Cator and John P. Irish, who had argued the issue in 1893, now debated the issue in San Francisco, Santa Rosa, Los Angeles, San Diego, Sacramento, Fresno, Marysville and Oakland, before large crowds. Cator invariably had the support of the audience and received most of the applause. However, the nimble Irish was listened to with interest and generally with respect, for he was very popular as an orator. Populist leaders were conspicuous in the conduct of each debate.

At the end of 1895 Cator and Baker believed that neither of the old parties would adopt a free-silver plank nor nominate a silver candidate. Cator urged upon Donnelley and other national leaders that the party's national convention be held at the same time and same place as that of the Silver party convention, after the conventions of the old-line parties.

1896: FUSION FORCED ON POPULISTS

California Populists were optimistic as they met in Sacramento on May 11, 1896, for their state convention, one week after the Republican convention. The unanimous endorsement of silver at 16 to 1 by that convention did not worry the Populists for they knew even better than the Republicans that the certain nomination of McKinley would mean the repudiation of silver.[36] Both Cator and his wife were official delegates to the convention. The only question that caused any real debate was that of the nomination for U. S. senator. D. T. Fowler argued that it worked against the success of the legislative candidates. Cator had a ready answer; he reminded them that 62,000 votes had been cast for Populist candidates for the assembly in 1894, 11,000 more than for governor. On roll call the convention by a vote of 248 to 68 agreed to a nomination. Cator was then nominated without opposition. Prior to the Democratic national convention, Populists were generally quite hopeful and hence opposed to any kind of fusion.[37]

On July 6, at Chicago, Taubeneck, Weaver, Cator, and other Populist leaders drafted a manifesto urging the Democrats to nominate Senator H. M. Teller, who had bolted the Republican convention. The endorsement of silver and the nomination of Bryan on July 10 by the Democratic convention brought squarely before the Populists the question of fusion.

The California delegation to the national convention of the People's party arrived in St. Louis on July 20, very much divided on the presidential nomination. Donnelley, Taubeneck, Debs, and Vandervoort wanted a separate ticket; Senator William Allen, Weaver, Mrs. Lease, and Coxey were ready to accept Bryan and Sewall. A third group, including most of the rank and file, were willing to nominate Bryan if he would accept a Populist running mate. Many letters from California were delivered to Cator on his arrival from New York, July 21, most of the writers urging the nomination of Bryan on a Populist platform.

The Populist convention was about the most turbulent in party history. Thomas Watson of Georgia was nominated for vice-president, California casting 26 out of 35 votes for Watson. Bryan was nominated for president by a large majority. The Silver party, which had marked time while the Populists wrangled, nominated Bryan and Sewall.

The campaign in California was an exciting one. The Populist party was greatly over-shadowed by all the other parties, chiefly because of the lack of funds. The Republicans spent huge sums; the Democrats were hard put, but did receive much help from the leaders of the Silver party. Cator had a working agreement with White by which Populists would seek Democrat endorsement of Populist candidates for the assembly in trade for Populist endorsement of Democrats for the senate.[38] There was much wire-pulling, because of the ambitions of local politicians of both parties, but by November 3 the problem was simplified to such an extent that outside of San Francisco (where as usual there was a very complicated situation) there were opposing candidates of the two parties in only five assembly districts and in one senatorial district. Fusion was effected on congressmen—three Populists and four Democrats. Cator spoke at meetings throughout the state. He became definitely the candidate of the allied parties for the senate. The result of his effort was a general vilification by Republican editors, second only to that accorded Bryan. In their campaign of fear and coercion, there was scarcely a term that could be associated with radicalism that was overlooked.

Eight Republican electors and one Democrat were chosen. The allied parties secured four congressmen: two Populists, C. A. Barlow of the sixth district and Dr. C. H. Castle of the seventh; and two Democrats, Marion De Vries of the second district and Maguire of the fourth. There were eleven Populists elected to the assembly. The legislature on January 12, 1897, elected George C. Perkins to the U. S. senate for a second term, the Populists voting for Cator.

POPULISM FALLS APART

Democrats and Populists began immediately to spar for positions in the elections of 1898. James Maguire, former Democratic congressman from San Francisco, was soon recognized as that party's candidate for governor. James Barry, ever ardent booster for Maguire, wrote in January 1897: "... but for Cator's selfish ambition the Democrats and Populists together would have a majority of the legislature and James Maguire would be the senator."[39] An attempt to keep the three allies together on the silver cause was made in the spectacular sweep across the state by Bryan, who in July 1897 made fifteen speeches in six days.[40]

The state committee of the People's party on October 28 adopted resolutions, undoubtedly drafted by Cator, deprecating past experience with union and urging all who looked for deliverance from monopoly to join the People's party. In December Barry charged that Cator, in the interests of the Southern Pacific, sought to split the Populist party.[41] A Populist editor answered Barry:

> We think we know the temper of the Populists in this country, and we are certain that they are not to be won to the support of Maguire by lying and blackguarding Cator, for they venerate him for his ability, patriotism and for the great sacrifice he has made for principle.[42]

C. A. Barlow from Washington assured Cator that he was with him "... to the death against Maguire":

> This is my position for several reasons, but the first of these is that you have been to me everything in my political life and now to see the man who gloated over failure of yours get any advantage from the party that you have made, more than any other, I say never.[43]

E. M. Wardall, secretary to Barlow, asserted to Cator that Castle had resisted the pressure of Maguire Democrats and definitely opposed all fusion.[44]

Early in March Cator forwarded to Wardall, state chairman, a form for the call of the state convention, setting a date a month earlier than the other conventions. Barlow at once replied:

> Wardall has been in a fearful sweat since he received that call from you.... Your letter was like a thunderbolt to him. It was at variance with all that had been thought of before and also out of harmony with all the word that he has received from all over the state.

He tried a bit of subtlety, suggesting that with White out of the way, the chances were better than ever for the election of a Populist senator.[45] Now that the decision had to be made, Barlow and other politically ambitious Populists showed a keen interest in fusion. Populist editors sought advice from Cator, most of them suggesting fusion.

As the Populists met in Sacramento, July 11, 1898, the papers were full of statements; Cator, Webster and Bretz denounced fusion; George Montieth, who had run as a Populist for assembly in 1896 against the fusion candidate, and E. L. Hutchinson argued its advantages.[46] The next day Hutchinson was chosen temporary chairman over Webster, showing the strength of the fusion faction. Cator for the first time was left off the resolutions committee. That night a Democratic conference committee and the executive committee of the Silver party held meetings.[47] Soon after the convention met on the thirteenth, a recess was taken during which the fusion wing got together in the senate chamber, the middle-of-the-road faction in the Supreme Court chamber, and the three conference committees in the assembly chamber. The convention reconvened and the platform was adopted unanimously. At the call for nominations, Cator made a fighting speech, attacked Maguire's record, and presented a resolution that the candidate, if present, must accept the platform, or, if absent, must telegraph his acceptance. Maguire and T. W. H. Shanahan of Shasta County were nominated, the former winning on the first ballot, 154 to 135.

That same night the anti-fusionists met in the senate chamber, declared theirs the true People's party and unanimously nominated Shanahan for governor. The next morning the state ticket was completed, and the platform, which had been adopted the day before, was adopted by the bolters *in toto*. So the Populists entered the campaign with two sets of candidates on identical platforms. There was much bitterness and name-calling. Barlow in parting company with Cator reminded him that union had been the policy since Cator's "magnificent action" at St. Louis. He plainly told Cator that it was generally believed that Cator's personal enmity toward Maguire had produced the split.[48] The Democrats on August 18 nominated Maguire by acclamation; the Republicans, after some skirmishing for sectional advantage, on August 24 nominated Henry Gage. The Supreme Court on September 30 ruled out the middle-of-the-road ticket, an action that drove most of that faction into the Republican party. Shanahan and Webster in printed statements blasted the fusionists. Cator took no part in the campaign, made no public statement prior to the election. The Republicans won a decisive victory.[49] In December Cator wrote the obituary for his party:

> The attempt in 1898 to finally annex it [People's Party] permanently to the Democratic Party was equivalent to dissolution and fully warranted all who like myself were former Republicans in returning and renewing allegiance to the Republican Party. It is apparent that the main support of the People's Party came from those who thought free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one a desirable policy. A re-examination of this matter has led me with many others to modified views upon the subject.

He proceeded to give a strong gold-standard argument, a defense of the trust, tariff and the imperial annexations of 1898.[50]

CATOR RETIRES FROM PARTISAN POLITICS

Following the disintegration of the party Cator sought no elective office. He carried on his legal practice. In 1901 he was appointed to the elections commission of the City of San Francisco and served till his death, most of the time as the president of that commission. He represented the city in many tilts involving legal aspects of the election laws. He made talks to all kinds of groups in explanation of the initiative, referendum, direct primary and charter amendments. Populist assemblymen had sought in 1893 to enact measures prepared by Cator for direct legislation and direct primary. In 1901 Cator drafted for a senate committee a direct primary law which was passed with little change. This was broadened by later amendments.

Mrs. Ethel Chapman Cator died in 1907. A year later, September 3, 1908, Cator was married to her sister, Mrs. Edith V. Houghton. During the later years of his life, Cator took a keen interest in the Swedenborgian faith and regularly attended services of that church. The third week in September 1920 he had been at work in the City Hall upon certain charter amendments that were to appear upon the November ballot. He returned home apparently in good health and died the next morning of heart failure at sixty-nine years of age. He was survived by Mrs. Cator and by three children by the first Mrs. Cator.

NOTES

24. Sam Leake, then assistant librarian, stated to the writer that McGowan was locked, with his consent, in the belfry of the Catholic cathedral. Headquarters for White's board of strategy was in Leake's office.

25. The charges of Bretz led to an investigation that wandered more or less aimlessly. Cator was counsel for Bretz, who was let off with two weeks suspension and a reprimand.

26. Geary's Letters (in the possession of Judge Donald Geary of Santa Rosa) show that the vote on repeal was the chief factor in his defeat in 1894.

27. Practically all Republican papers in California were vehemently advocating free silver. The Los Angeles *Times* and the Tulare *Register* were conspicuous in their support of the gold standard.

28. *Proc. Calif. State Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union* (Fresno, 1893), p. 9. Cator and Dr. George Gillespie were urged by Paul Vandervoort, national commander, to undertake the organization work in California.

29. San Francisco *Call*, Feb. 25, 1894.

30. The meeting drew such a crowd that an overflow meeting was held in the street. *Examiner*, July 7, 1894.

31. Geary Letters, from J. F. Thompson, manager of Eureka *Standard*, June 6, 1894.

32. *Ibid.*, from R. H. Beamer, June 10, 1894. He was one of the very few Democrats elected.

33. Budd's victory, in contrast with the defeat of the Democratic ticket as a whole, was largely due to an indecent story that was circulated by the Republicans and which boomeranged.

34. San Francisco *Examiner,* Aug. 21, 1895.

35. *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1895.

36. Harold F. Taggart, "Party Realignment in California in 1896," in *Pacific Historical Review* (Dec. 1939), VIII, 435-52.

37. Cator Letters, from Dr. C. H. Castle (Merced), candidate for congress from the seventh district, June 27, 1896; from W. H. Gilstrap, June 24, and others.

38. White had an eye on the legislature of 1899, in the event that he became a candidate for a second term.

39. San Francisco *Star,* Jan. 16, 1897. He intimated that Cator was a railroad attorney, closely associated with George W. Baker, head of the legal staff of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

40. Harold F. Taggart, "The Silver Republican Club of Los Angeles," *Quarterly of the Historical Society of Southern California,* XXV (Sept. 1943), 102-116. The Club made all arrangements.

41. San Francisco *Star,* Dec. 4, 1897.

42. William Ayres in *Western Watchman,* quoted in *Tulare Valley Citizen,* Dec. 16, 1897.

43. Cator Letters, from C. A. Barlow, Jan. 4, 1898.

44. *Ibid.*, from Wardall, Jan. 30, 1898.

45. *Ibid.*, from Barlow, Mar. 9, 1898. Wardall poured out his anxiety in a letter of the same date. Wardall prophesied on March 25 that the convention would be a "knock down and drag out affair."

46. *Examiner,* July 12, 1898.

47. The meeting of the Silver Republicans was a stormy one; Baker resigned as chairman and left immediately for San Francisco.

48. Cator Letters, from Barlow, Aug. 8, 1898.

49. An interesting incident in the campaign was the attack leveled at Maguire by Father Peter Yorke of San Francisco in the last few days of the campaign. That a deal had been made, tacitly or otherwise, is indicated by the appointment of Father Yorke to the board of regents of the University of California by Governor Gage.

50. San Francisco *Call,* Dec. 29, 1898. "Thomas V. Cator writes the valedictory."

Documentary

S. C. Massett Esqre
Marysville

Dear Sir:

The bearer of the present Lord Calthrope has been very strongly recommended to me by our Senator Gwin in Washington and I herewith take the liberty of introducing him to you. Knowing your friendship for me I herewith request you to assist this Gentleman and his friend Mr Coke in any way, as both are going to visit the mines, and all kindness extended to them will be regarded as done to myself.

In a few days I hope to see you in your place, in the meantime I remain

Yours most truly
[SIGNED] J A Sutter [rubric]

Nicolaus febry 26th 1851.

The visit with Stephen C. Massett ("Jeems Pipes of Pipesville") is referred to by Hon. Henry J. Coke in his *A Ride over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California . . .* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), pp. 357, 378. On page 357, he says: "After spending a pleasant evening with the editor of the 'Marysville Herald'—who, by the by happened to be a genuine cockney, serving the city of Marysville in the several capacities of editor, play-actor, concert-giver, and auctioneer—I started the next morning for the 'Forks of the Yuba.' " Coke's book is dedicated to his brother, the Right Hon. The Earl of Leicester. For a biographical note on Massett, *see* Earl Ramey, "The Beginnings of Marysville," this QUARTERLY, XIV (Dec. 1935), 387-89. Who Calthrope was, it is difficult to say. Coke speaks (p. 362) of a friend named Fred, when staying in San Francisco at the El Dorado Hotel; he refers to his companions at the outset of his journey simply by initials, such as A—— and G—— (pp. 4, 37).

Original of the above letter is in the Templeton Crocker Collection, this Society.

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho!

The Diary of Levi Stowell, 1849

Edited by Marco Thorne

(Concluded)

Sunday, October 7. fresh meat. took a stroll down the beach through Happy & pleasant, vallies, over Rincon point, &c. in happy valley all kinds of people lives, men women children, black & White, all in the sand together, a conglomeration

Monday, October 8. that I do not much admire. Kennedy, Waters & Joyce went out gunning yesterday, Kennedy shot a hawk, prepared & cooked it [.] Tough Oh. heavens, recitations, Spouting, &c at night

Tuesday, October 9. Foggy night, looks like Rain. Rained this morning caught us without a roof, got wet, and several buildings in a bad fix[.][120] O, ye in canvass houses, fly from thence or you'll get damp & no mistake, Souther, heh

Wednesday, October 10. Steamer California in. Rained like the d—l this day wind S.E. Steamer arrd this morning. so far so good, now the question is, has she got the mail? She better have it or leave the harbour, for the people are tired waiting.

Thursday, October 11. No Mail, again,[121] well we will figure again & probably find that the next Steamer is the proper one for our letters to come in, Screw loose some where, should like to tighten it. think I'd make a rivet of it—

Friday, October 12. 40 men at work this week, at the rate of $75.00 per week each, well it's nothing when you get used to it a plenty of the "Oro" is all's wanting, say 2. back loads a week, right smart.

Saturday, October 13. Very warm & pleasant, after the rain, worked hard getting Lumber &c for various jobs[.] W.P.W. went to a Ball this eve' Mr Brown & Brother here to dinner just in, left Washington in May. a few more left only.—

Sunday, October 14. The Most lovely & beautiful day Since I've known Francisco like a beautiful fall day at home[.] Made me nearly home-sick. Walked over the hills, & about town, Jack & Bill went to goat-Island, but no goats—

Monday, October 15. Very warm & pleasant, Mr Jackson from Washt took dinner with us. all very busy, Mr Wilson rather better increased improvements since the rain. no notion of being 6 feet under water, many were tho.

Tuesday, October 16. Very warm still; pleasant evenings. rather too warm to sleep, & the "fleas" very troublesome, loud & severe are the imprications, invoked upon them. we want a woman to brush 'em out. we we'll have one soon or leave the country.

Wednesday, October 17. Mr Wilson getting on slowly. rumours that the Washington, (Bruffs) party are at or near the Sacramento hope so

Thursday, October 18. Weather very warm & pleasant, all well and busy, Since the rain, everybody is preparing for the next, and the buildings are going up faster

Friday, October 19. than ever, one day, a puddle and next high ground, next an house & thus as if by magic comes in to shape about 50. buildings per week[122]

Saturday, October 20. At the present progress of improvements this will soon become one of the greatest Cities in the world, 9. times 9. cheers for San Francisco & all

Sunday, October 21. California at large. roved over the hills[.] All of us viewed the Bay the Cities looked out upon the Pacific[.] Snuffed the sea breeze, & then for home first to cook & then to eat a sumptuous dinner

Levi Stowell, toward the close of his first October in San Francisco, found himself in the thick of an early California political campaign. Said Stowell's friend, Henry Williams: "On . . . [October 23] the first show of politics was made in San Francisco, the Whigs making a rally in favor of T. Butler King for U. S. Senator."[123] Although large-lettered handbills called upon the citizens to participate in the rally, it failed to attract a crowd, a fact which was attributed by the anti-Whig *Alta California* to the lack of sympathy for the Whig cause and the prevalence of a damp fog.[124] Owen P. Sutton, a friend of Stowell's and at that time a Democrat, wrote later how he helped to stop a campaign, initiated by King and his backers, to have no political-party contests in California. Sutton, Geary, Voorhies, and Colonel Stevenson decided to call a mass-meeting, in opposition to the King scheme, at Portsmouth Square where they proposed to "organize a party." This, according to Sutton, marked the formation of the Democrat party, Stowell's party in California, [125] and the meeting is mentioned by Stowell in his entry of Oct. 25, the day it occurred. John Geary presided; William Van Voorhies gave an address, and resolutions were adopted calling for a slate of Democrat candidates. As a consequence of this and other Democrat mass-meetings, Stowell became one of a committee to make the party's nominations for the new state-to-be of California. His diary continues:

Monday, October 22. Politics begin to move the people, No partyism, wont do here, democratic Men & measures, & nothing else will do for California we'll soon set the Ball

Tuesday, October 23. in motion, & we will roll it over the rocky mountains[.] So look out Atlantic democrats we're a coming, and we intend to see ourselves righted in the state of Cal[iforni]a

Wednesday, October 24. No Banks save the natural Banks, no monopolies, No distribution of public lands & no Whiggery in thse far of[f] lands. democracy dyed in the wool, only, will do here.

Thursday, October 25. democratic mass meeting at the Exchange. a large and enthusiastic meeting, very much like old times. hip hurrah

Friday, October 26. Another mass meeting to be held tomorrow eve' & nominations to be made. Comt Harris [,] Denison [,] Randolph, Stowell, Tracy [,] Patterson, Wright [,] Scott & others[127]

Saturday, October 27. Steamer Senator arrd to day no mail as usual,[128] dont expect any more 'till Christmas. hope we may get news by that time as late as May or June

Sunday, October 28. Met a Committee this morning &c. a most enchanting day as broke upon the world. went to the Methodist Church Bill & Jack went out hunting & got a fine mess of birds

Monday, October 29. Election to day to elect a commt to make nominations. Considerable interest manifested, a few aspiring individuals having created a split in the party at the last meeting, as they or their particular friends were not nominated, & with the Comt to be elected by the sovereigns and

Tuesday, October 30. now we'll see what the Sovereigns do. Mond[ay] night 12. O'el.k well the sovereigns have sustained the Old Comt by about 3 to 1. S. Harris - E. Randolph [,] L. Stowell, Dennison, Tracy [,] Wright [,] McGlenn, Patterson [,] E. V. Joyce, Scott [,] Geary, are the Comt

Wednesday, October 31. Weather fine & pleasant. Steamers Unicorn & Panama arrd[.][129] Tomorrow night we report The nominations for Gov' P.H. Burnett[130] Lieut Gov' McDugal[131] State Senate G.P. Post & T.H. Green[;][132] for Assembly W.V. Voorhies [,] E. Randolph [,] J.H. Watson [,][133] J.A. Patterson[134] and myself. for Congress R.M. Price & Wright.

THE LAST TWO MONTHS OF 1849

In the preceding part of his diary Stowell described his trip to San Francisco, his adventures in mining and his return to San Francisco after futile attempts to find enough gold. He then told of his life as a carpenter and his interest in politics and in Masonry. The diary continues:

Thursday, November 1. Wrote to O.J. Preston.—The political world of Calaf', is in commotion, The democracy chalanges a combat, but, Nopartyism & other humbuggery is their plea. had a fine Meeting this eve' & the nominations well recieved [;] good speaking by several [,] Voorhies, Henley [,] Randolph &c. sent papers to Mary—

Friday, November 2. raining & unpleasant[.][135] Mud, in any quantity & water all around us, our dwelling is nearly ready. Anxious for our letters provided we are so fortunate as to get any.

Saturday, November 3. A letter from brother. Got our letters & very few they are[.] Two from O.J. Preston One from M.A.H. thankful for small favours. only one Mail that is Aug. learn by my letters that, the letters which contains all my orders & an acct of my mining excursion never have reached their destination [;] a bad business indeed.

Sunday, November 4. Weather really delightful, Voorhies & myself wandered over the Hills & expatiated on the beauties and natural advantages of the City of San Francisco & then went to the Episcopal Church &c.—

Monday, November 5. Rained all day early, and Mud without depth. The democrats awake, stiring up the boys in ancient style, Stump Speeches &c

Tuesday, November 6. Country Lumber, rainy disagreeable &c. got our papers, a few. glad to get even a few, though not very late dates. probably get them next mail Query—when'll that be.

Wednesday, November 7. Mr Wilson poorly, indeed, a hard time indeed, has he. Weather rather pleasant, but suspicious. in hopes to have an house to live in soon instead of a shop. leaky roof &c. &c. &c.

Thursday, November 8. I. Owen called on us this morning.[136] glad to see him being one of Bruff's party, the first authentic information of the party. some of them in the Mines & Sacramento City others 100 Miles back & will probably be in in ten days. lost only one man viz Bishop[137]

Friday, November 9. — heard of Dixon's death — Was truly gratified to hear of them & that they had been so fortunate in getting thro' with so little sickness &c. I. Owen leaves to day for Santa Cruz to see his brother, John. had a social meeting of Masons in

Saturday, November 10. rain rain rain!!! — my new room preparatory to opening Lodge on Thursday eve' next. Am anxious to get open & at work. raining, & all took a hand at Sewing carpet for the Lodge room. hard work, all got the back ache.

Sunday, November 11. Nailed down carpet & fixed the Lodge room &c cleared off. hope it will remain so for awhile ½ Doz buildings to close in. M. Wilson much better.

Monday, November 12. clear. Odd Fellows opened in our New Hall this eve'[138] a very good attendance initiated one. Election tomorrow, many Schemes to work, splitting tickets trading candidates &c &c &c but look out for "the Democrats"

Tuesday, November 13. rainy. Turned out early pedling tickets &c, wading through mud knee deep, bring up the boys, rather an expensive day with me. M. Wilson rode to the polls & voted, he is much better [.] with all their cheating I think we'll beat 'em badly.

Wednesday, November 14. Democratic Triumph! the whole democratic ticket in this district elected.[139] Glory enough for this election; the country democratic, so may she ever be, as I believe she will.

Levi Stowell, an enthusiastic Mason, realized one of his ambitions when California Lodge No. 13, of which he had been given the charter before he left Washington, D. C., was organized. A notice in the *Alta California* on October 4, 1849 announced that: "...books for subscription to a joint stock company for the purpose of erecting a building to be occupied as a Lodge Room are now open...." The notice was signed by five men including Stowell, R. M. Price, Charles Gilman and Col. J. D. Stevenson.[140] There is some confusion among writers on California Masonry as to the date of formal organization, two sources giving it as October 17, 1849,[141] and one placing it on Thursday, November 17th of the same year—a confusion of the day and date.[142] As was seen in Stowell's entry of July 30, there had been a meeting of Master Masons during the previous summer to organize a lodge.

The meeting of November 15, held in the lodge room of which Stowell writes (the attic of H. F. Williams' building on Montgomery Street), marked the formal organization of California Lodge No. 13.[143] The monthly rent on the room was $250. The room was low at the sides and members had to move toward the middle when they arose, so as not to strike the roof timbers. Furniture consisted of three chairs, pine boxes and benches. There were 37 visiting members coming from 18 states, England, Nova Scotia and Canada.[144] Although Stowell claims that this was actually California's first lodge, other evidence does not bear him out.[145] His diary continues:

Thursday, November 15. Opened California Lodge No. 13. this evening. a large attendance. though the going was very bad. a good meeting. The first Masonic Lodge in California. Met in our new hall, fitted it up myself.

Friday, November 16. Got a very bad cold the first since I left home. rainy and extremely disagreeable. in a leaky shanty yet. L. Stowell R[ight]. W[orshipful]. M[aster]. Wm V. Voorhies S[enior]. W[arden]. D.G. Day J[unior]. W[arden]. Pr[o] t[empore] other chairs filled Protem'[146]

Saturday, November 17. rather more pleasant, all nearly sick with colds. for want of a decent place to live in. no time to build for ourselves, of course, a shanty will do for us

Sunday, November 18. a pleasant day, H.F.W. & D.G.D. walked out beyond the Mission over the sand hills &c. W.P.W. sick & myself not much better. M Wilson still gaining. Election news thus far Democratic, altogether.

Monday, November 19. Miserable weather, but have to be out, got cold all over me [;] bones ache all over me. streets about 3. ft deep with mud. perfectly ridiculous, that no improvements are made [.] where are the city council.

Tuesday, November 20. pulled up stakes & mooved to our new house. all nearly sick I've been out in the rain & mud ten days and will now go to bed and stay ten more to pay for it I expect, ah!

Wednesday, November 21. Had to go to bed, & take a sweat, & some other things more unpleasant. great heavens anything but being sick away from home, no one to wait on you or make anything to eat or drink

Thursday, November 22. but must get used to it I suppose, as well as other things not very pleasant in these diggins sick as death, from my medicine, my own physician[147] rather skillful to, no mistake but the idea of sending for "stuff"

Friday, November 23. yourself to take that'll make you gag at the thoughts of.— a very kind Neighbor Mrs D. sends me everything nice or I should die for want of alittle something

Saturday, November 24. to eat, a woman is rather convenient in such cases, dont do to be sick, keeping bachelor's Hall [.] Well, I dont think I'm much sick only got a d—l of a cold

Sunday, November 25. Sunday, all day, should like to go to Church but reckon I've got a good Excuse, got a few Balt[im]o[re] papers, looks like hom to see "the [Baltimore] Sun" but it

Monday, November 26. seldom shines here, O', for a pouring down of its light in California, for we have none here worth anything at all

Tuesday, November 27. Cold nights & pleasant days. "So mote it be" Should like to get out but my throat is rather too sore yet & Im about as strong as a sick kitten.

Wednesday, November 28. Expect all our folk are fixing for thanksgiving or dont they heed the proclamation of California [.] ought too, they tak rather particular notice of her otherwise. anniversity of our departure 5. a.m—

Thursday, November 29. Thanksgiving day. well where is the turkies, pies, & "chicken fixings" no difference for Im sick as a fool & cant eat. What the d—l are they all doing at home I, wonder

Friday, November 30. Guess I'de Like a peice of them pumpkin pies & a rib of that pig, but then I'm fast forgetting all my old habits and am learning to live temperately in all things. women too"—

Saturday, December 1. anniversary of our Leaving N.Y. Steamer Oregon in at last, just as the Unicorn is going out [.] might as well waited another month. Three mails aboard of her, hope some of it is for me. Mr King also Mr Burch arrived from the D.C.

Sunday, December 2. King called to see me. left me letters, from O.J.P. also for the other boys. me a book from O.J.P. & a package from The Grand Secty Fraily, all truly acceptable, help pass my sick hours off.—[148]

Monday, December 3. Cold and rainy, miserable day. Anxious to see Mr K . . . on a private matter. Sent by the Steamer for J.H. Nevit 100 oz of gold dust, by Adams & Co;[149] Express, insured &c. to his wife at Washington

Tuesday, December 4. Alittle more pleasant feel alittle better myself [.] want to get out mightily but its no use. cant come it. hold on to the bed reckon I shall be ill prepared to leave for the

Wednesday, December 5. Legislature next week [.] must go at all hazzards [.] Calculate to get out on tomorrow. Henry is flat of his back, & I'll have to get well to take care of him

Thursday, December 6. pleasant, Henry quite sick, feel very well today myself, no strength yet. flatter myself to be a first rate physician & it looks now as if I am

Friday, December 7. pleasant [.] to have a right smart practice, Henry & Waters both sick going out to day Must go to the Lodge to night sure & open &c for there is no one to do it.

Saturday, December 8. Mornings cold & days very pleasant, had a good meeting last night & done some work.[150] done me no harm I believe in going out

Sunday, December 9. Sunday again & very pleasant. I have had to write day & night since I got up in order to get off this week to Pueblo (The Capital) [San Jose] &c

Monday, December 10. run about Town to day considerable. Henry is improving. I hardly knew the town, so many improvements in two weeks, great people these Californians. Well they are!

Tuesday, December 11. Stormy, trying to get ready to be off in the morning, but doubtful Jack being sick, there is no one now but myself [.] all sick, one at a time would be more convenient & would last longer.

Wednesday, December 12. All to unwell for me to leave, finances to be attended to. Henry is better & I'll be off, barring accidents; in a day or two. Must get to the Capital or I shall loose

Thursday, December 13. all the log-rolling operations if Im not on hand. wire-working is understood here to perfection, California as it is. Old heads about. Land Titles in the distance looming up big.[151] Off in the morning

Friday, December 14. Started for Pueblo on the Mint 7 by 9. Stormy, got out 15. Miles and a severe storm met us, and the bravest hearts quailed,[152] all was given up for lost, the Storms of the ocean had no terrors for me & now to be drowned was not fair, in this little Bay, but providence intevened and

Saturday, December 15. the valuable cargo was safely moored at the Wharf. a load of members was on board — Off again this Morning on the Sacramento, anchored over night stormy [;] got acquainted with Mrs Kerving a beautiful and interesting lady, daughter of Dr. White St. Louis

Sunday, December 16. This morning going up the Guadaloupa to the embarcadero. So crooked that its waters are always riled. got into waggons and got to Pueblo San Jose at 3. O'Clock [.] Town full of Office-seekers and wire-workers. Opposition against

Monday, December 17. Voorhies as Secty of State, but Van is the man or, we'll brake some thing trying. Unpleasant fix to be a Member of the Legislature, for this political intriguing is perfectly disgusting to me. I keep them off of me [.] Legislature organized to day [,] both Houses & elected officers.—

The legislature was to meet in an adobe, 60′ x 40′, and two stories high (with a piazza on the second floor), built at the expense of the town of San Jose. Only the second story, used by the assembly, was finished, however, and the senate had to meet at the home of Isaac Branham on the southwest corner of the plaza. The members boarded at private homes, paying for the privilege. As no provision had been made for running expenses, even ordinary stationery was lacking.[153/54]

Tuesday, December 18. Speaker Dr. [Thomas J.] White of St Louis[;] Clerk [E.H.] Tharp

Wednesday, December 19. Met & done but little, adj'd 'till 3. O.Clock. Officers of the Senate McDugal Pre[siden]t

Thursday, December 20. Inaugurated the Gov. & Elected Senators J.C. Fremont & W.M. Gwinn.[155] great interest manifested in the elections. Opposition to "Van"; oppose and be d-m-d cant hurt, its all right—bet on that.[156]

[There were no entries for December 21st or 22d.]

Sunday, December 23. Pleasant again. Called on Mrs. Kerwing & on the Gov' [.] Members of the 3rd house are leaving to day, very glad, hope to have some place to slep now except on the floor, under a cot, and bad living all for $35. a week quite moderate

Monday, December 24. Great excitement in regard to mooving the Capital, Many very feirce for it, I'm down on that, for we cant better ourselves. Adjourned till next Friday for Christmas, O, for

Tuesday, December 25. a Christmas at home in Old Balto or thereabouts, no ale here. van', Judge Lyons & myself took a long walk in the morn' over the plains lovely day—dull Christmas, but preferable to spending it on the Caribbean sea as last Christmas

Wednesday, December 26. Walked & set about most of the day. Van, and I walked over the plain &c, think I'll go to San Francisco tomorrow & see the Boys, & how they get on &c

Thursday, December 27. Anniversary of our arrival at Chagres. Off early in the Stage for the Steamer. arrived in time to attend the Lodge [.] call'd a meeting tomorrow for Electing officers, got up home at 10. O,Clock

Friday, December 28. All over town getting some little matters, fixed and get back to Pueblo. Lodge met & Elected her Officers L[evi]. S[towell]. R.W.M. Barton S.W, Col' Geary J.W. Gihon Secty Selover[157] Treas — Steamer Cal' in

Saturday, December 29. Off for the Steamer just in time to be too late so I'll wait for the Searg' at arms to come for all hands, for I reckon there is a quorum here

Sunday, December 30. Wrote Letters to, O.J.P. Sister, Rebecca R.F. S.M.W. — got Letters, from O.J.P. Sister Rebecca A. — got a paper announcing the death of F.S.M, Willoughby, astounding, cannot realize it at all. drew my

Monday, December 31. letter from Dr. Gwinn to F.S.M.W[illoughby]. gave our letters to Hon Dr. Gwinn all off on board this eve. a precious load by this Steamer. Senators [,] Representatives, T.B. King &c [.] N. Years eve' what is going on at home Query—And now the year hath passed; sitting at my desk at San Francisco with all the boys around, Day, Ardilla,[158] Kennedy, Wilson &c. Waters & Kennedy gone for some cider & cakes to have N Years eve &c

LEVI STOWELL AFTER 1849

After 1849, Stowell and Williams were associated in a building business. Kimball's San Francisco *Directory* (September 1850) mentioned "Stowell, Williams & Co." on Montgomery between Jackson and Washington streets.[159] Stowell was listed as a merchant in 1852 by the California Census.[160] J. Goldsborough Bruff, one of the petitioners in Washington who asked for a charter for California Lodge No. 13, wrote in his diary on March 7, 1851, in San Francisco, that he "Called to see Stowell and Preston . . ."[161]

Stowell also continued to invest in San Jose property, buying, with Williams, Waters and Joyce, a 50-vara lot for $4,500 in March of 1850;[162] and in 1854 he bought some land in San Jose from Williams that the latter had purchased in 1852.[163]

After his experiences in the first California legislature, Stowell returned to activity in the Masonic Order.[164] He attended the first convention of the Grand Lodge of California at Sacramento in April and May of 1850,[165] where he became grand treasurer for the state lodge; and in May 1851, he was made grand secretary for California, an office which he held until his death.[166] He added to his fraternal activities by joining the Society of California Pioneers on January 7, 1854.[167] May 1, 1855, he attended the meeting of the Grand Lodge of California in San Francisco.[168]

Three weeks later, May 18, 1855, Levi Stowell died in San Francisco.[169] The next day notices were given by seven San Francisco lodges and by the Grand Lodge of California to their various members to meet on May 20 for Stowell's funeral.[170]

The morning of the funeral many members of the Masons met at noon in the Masonic lodge at Washington and Kearny streets in San Francisco, whence Stowell's remains were taken to the Vallejo Street wharf and put on board a steamer for San Jose, a small delegation of Masons escorting the body to San Jose.[171]

On arrival at San Jose, the coffin was taken to the San Jose Masonic Hall. The next day a large procession of Masons and others accompanied the hearse, in the largest funeral procession ever known in San Jose up to that time.[172]

NOTES

120. "We were all caught terribly; we hadn't any idea there would be rain so soon, having been given to understand it would not begin till December." Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

121. "Steamer Cala arrived brot no U S Mail, a private mail bro't 2000 letters," said Lyman on October 10th. Teggart, *op. cit.*, p. 300. The arrival without mail "... occasioned terrible disappointment among the people." Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The *Alta California* of Oct. 11, 1849, put the passenger list at 399, "... but NO MAIL!"

122. The rains gave an impetus to the raising of new buildings, using wood instead

of cloth for roofs. At this time carpenters were getting $12 to $16 a day and anyone able to use a saw got at least $12 a day. Teggart, *op. cit.*, p. 300; J. H. Stearns, "Statement..." in "Miscellaneous Statements on California History" (MS in B. L.), p. 17. Williams said that on October 8 he started the first brick building ever erected in San Francisco, measuring 20 by 45 feet, and three stories high. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 12. 124. S. F. *Alta California*, Oct. 25, 1849, p. 2:1.

125. Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

126. Williams, *loc. cit.; Alta California*, Nov. 1, 1849; Van Voorhies' address is printed in Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), pp. 1-3.

127. The committee consisted of Stephen Harris, E. V. Joyce, Henry S. [F?] Williams, Samuel Dennison, Charles E. Scott, Levi Stowell, John A. Patterson, Edmund Randolph, John A. McGlynn, Capt. F. Wright and F. P. Tracy. *Alta California*, Nov. 1, 1849. A mass meeting was held again on October 27, at which time the committee was contested and it was decided to *elect* a nominating committee instead of having one appointed by the chairman of the meeting of October 25. The election was held at Dennison's Exchange.

128. The *Senator* was a new boat "...of great power and accommodation, built for the Boston and Halifax trade...." Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Knower wrote that it had been a Long Island steamer at one time. Knower, *op. cit.*, p. 78. As the *Senator* came into the harbor "...she ran hard and fast ashore in the mud at the present corner of California and Battery Streets, but was floated off uninjured at the next flood tide." Andrew S. Church, "*Memoirs*...," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, III (1926), 155. H. F. Williams later wrote that, "She [the *Senator*] was the most noted Steamer we ever had on this coast and...probably earned more money than any boat afloat." Williams, *loc. cit.*

129. "Unicorn Steamer in but no mail. Great indignation in town. PM 5 Ock. Steamer Panama in, brot the mails down to Sept. 16. Great rejoicing," wrote Lyman on October 31st. Teggart, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

130. Peter H. Burnett was born in Nashville, Tenn., on Nov. 15, 1807. He came to Oregon territory in Oct. 1843 and moved to California in Sept. 1848 to dig gold. On March 23, 1849, he came to San Francisco. P. H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*... (New York, 1880), *passim.*

131. John McDougall, a veteran of the Mexican War, came from Indiana. He boarded the *Falcon* at New Orleans on Dec. 18, 1848, and arrived in San Francisco in Feb. 1849 on the *California*. He was a delegate of Sacramento to the constitutional convention at Monterey. After the convention, an informal caucus was held for state officers. As no one else wanted the position of lieutenant governor, McDougall sat back in a chair and with a half-yawn said, "I reckon I'll take that–I don't believe anybody else will want it." *First SS Pioneers*, pp. 242-43; Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 16; W. H. Davis, *Sixty Years in California*... (San Francisco, 1889), p. 331.

132. Talbot H. Green's real name was Paul B. Geddes. In 1850 he was found to have deserted a wife and family in Pennsylvania, from whence he had fled after defrauding a bank in his native town in Pennsylvania. He was recognized by a woman in San Francisco who had known him at home. In the fall of 1849 he had married the widow of a Mr. Montgomery in San Francisco. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-29. W. H. Davis, *Sixty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 325, said a man named Hepburn recognized Green as Geddes.

133. John H. Watson, who was in California by 1831, gave his name to the town of Watsonville and was a judge in Santa Cruz County. E. S. Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County, California* (San Francisco, 1892), p. 71. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

134. J. A. Patterson was in Company D of the New York Volunteers and mustered out after the war was ended. He had also been connected with the "Hounds" organization. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (San Francisco, 1887), I, 92.

135. "Cloudy com[menced] raining at 6 P.M. but stoped at 10 P.M." E. Morrison Woodward, "The Original Manuscript Diary of a California Gold-Seeker of Forty-nine..." (MS in B. L.), n. p. (entry of Nov. 2, 1849).

136. Isaac E. Owen was 19 years old when he left with Bruff's party for California. *Nat'l Intelligencer*, Apr. 2, 1849.

137. Charles Bishop, age 25, of Washington, D. C. *Nat'l Intelligencer*, Apr. 2, 1849. Bishop died on July 8, 1849, of cholera, the first death in the Bruff party. As a Mexican War veteran, he was given a military funeral on the banks of the Platte River where he had died. Read and Gaines, editors, *op. cit.*, I, 33-34, 117-18.

138. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows had its beginnings in San Francisco in Dec. 1847, but with the discovery of gold the organization was allowed to lapse. The first permanent lodge in California that was regularly constituted was California Lodge No. 1, which first met on Sept. 9, 1849, and was organized by some Philadelphia men under a dispensation of Jan. 12, 1849. Anonymous, *Fifty Years of Odd Fellowship in California...* (San Francisco, 1899), p. 29; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 712

139. The election made Peter Burnett governor and John McDougall lieutenant governor. Van Voorhies and Stowell were among the five men elected in San Francisco to the California assembly, Van Voorhies receiving 1870 votes and Stowell, the fifth highest, 1794. Ten men ran for the assembly in San Francisco. Buffum, *op. cit.*, p. 119; *Alta California*, Nov. 15, 1849.

140. *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1849.

141. *California Masonry*, I, 48; J. Whicher, "Freemasonry in California," in D. Wright, ed., *Gould's History of Freemasonry Throughout the World* (New York, 1936), V, 56.

142. E. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 56. 143. *California Masonry*, *loc. cit.*

144. *Ibid.*, I, 54; E. Sherman, *loc. cit.*; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 710; Whicher, *loc. cit.*

145. Whicher, *op. cit.*, V, 53-56.

146. Besides the officers mentioned by Stowell, there were Robert A. Parker, treasurer, and John Geary, secretary. Stowell and William Van Voorhies were the only charter members present. The other members and officers had yet to affiliate formally with the California lodge. E. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 56-57; Soulé *et al*, *loc. cit.*

147. Dr. S. R. Geary's experiences give an idea of medical costs. After coming to San Francisco in March 1849 and locating in the Parker House, the doctor charged a half ounce of gold ($8.00) for an office visit and medicine, or a full ounce for a visit out. His business was on a strictly cash basis. He made as much as $150 to even $500 a day, and during the year made about $40,000. Geary, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 4.

148. A package was sent to Stowell on Oct. 6, 1849, by the grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia. The parcel included printed proceedings of the Grand Lodge and a letter of greetings. "Minutes of the ... Grand Lodge of District of Columbia, November 6, 1849," in *California Masonry*, I, 50.

149. Adams & Co., an eastern express firm, opened a branch in San Francisco in Nov. 1849. Service was extended to the principal cities on the Atlantic seaboard and to other adjacent places. Oscar O. Winther, *Express and Stagecoach days in California...* (Stanford University, 1936), pp. 44-45; Wiltsee, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

150. At the Masonic meeting of Dec. 7 Henry Williams made application for membership in the order. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 13; E. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 57.

151. The alcaldes of San Francisco made informal grants of land to anyone who put

up a shack or even a section of a building in the city. However, this condition was not always obeyed, except around the plaza. The grants were given with the understanding that they were not valid until confirmed by subsequent territorial legislation. Grants had also been given by the prefect of the city and at auctions sponsored by the town council. Because of their informality and the value of property, there was much conflict, and the first California legislature was looked to, to settle the validity of the grants. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Alfred A. Green, "Life and Advenures of a 47er of California," (MS in B. L.), pp. 24-25.

152. The *Mint*, made of iron, was about 50 feet long and had a capacity of around 70 passengers. *Alta California*, Sept. 27, 1849. Warren saw the legislators board the *Mint* and watched it as it went down the bay and "...battled with a furious gale, making such bad weather of it, that for a long while it seemed doubtful whether or not she would not founder with all her *precious freight*." T. R. Warren, *Dust and Foam...* (New York, 1859), p. 141.

153. B. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Oscar Winther, *The Story of San Jose, California's First Pueblo, 1777-1869* (San Francisco, 1935), p. 28.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 28; Crosby, "Statement," pp. 59, 62.

155. Peter Burnett was inaugurated as governor at one P.M. that afternoon. Burnett, *op. cit.*, p. 349. John C. Frémont was elected on the first ballot by the two houses in joint meeting. William Gwin was elected on the fourth ballot. Stowell voted for Frémont on the first ballot and for Gwin on the other three ballots. *Journals of the California Legislature*, 1st sess., 1850, pp. 23-25.

156. Van Voorhies was nominated by Burnett for secretary of state, and the nomination was confirmed by the senate on Dec. 21, 1849. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

157. A. Bartol of Columbus, Ohio, who was senior warden. Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 710; E. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 56. John H. Gihon was from Philadelphia, and A. A. Selover was from New York. Soulé *et al*, *loc. cit.*

158. L. A. Iardella was a member of Bruff's party. *Nat'l Intelligencer*, March 30, 1849.

159. Charles P. Kimball, *The San Francisco City Directory* (San Francisco, 1850), p. 106.

160. "California Census of 1852. Copies under the Direction of the... Daughters of the American Revolution of California," Typed transcript, VI, 56.

161. Read and Gaines, editors, *op. cit.*, II, 958.

162. *Deeds*, Santa Clara County, Vol. A, 35.

163. *Ibid.*, Vol. H, 261.

164. E. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 67.

165. *Ibid.*, I, 83.

166. *Ibid.*, I, 88; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 711.

167. H. P. Van Sicklen, secretary, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, to this writer, Apr. 15, 1940.

168. San Francisco *Daily Herald*, May 3, 1855.

169. San Francisco *Daily Chronicle*, May 19, 1855.

170. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1855.

171. *Daily Herald*, May 20, 1855.

172. San Jose *Telegraph and Santa Clara County Register*, May 24, 1855; San Jose *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, May 22, 1855.

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout

Translated and Edited

By A. P. Nasatir

(Continued)

XIX *(Concluded)*

But the most dangerous enemies to Californian society were not so much these common evil doers, organized in bands easy to destroy sooner or later, as the army of politicians, lawyers, seekers of employment, together with all their following of gamblers, "hoofers" [loafers?] "shoulder strikers," etc., etc., people who were very sly, cunning, and corrupt. They knew that in this country there were, for them, some mines richer than those of the placers and they wanted to exploit them. This sort of emigration was the black cloud which then presented itself on the Californian horizon. Their object was to obtain and to occupy all the places and public offices which, more than salaries, promised them a thousand other resources and means of enriching themselves.

But without following them in the path of their iniquities, without enumerating at length all their disloyal conduct, manoeuvers, to which they have taken recourse in order to assure the triumph of their projects, I must only remark that, being opposed to the establishment of the territorial government proclaimed by the military government of April 18, 1849, they led California to declare itself a sovereign and independent state.

Delegates from the entire country assembled at Monterey on the first of September to draw up, formulate and discuss a constitution.[68] Nothing was more regrettable for this country than the above mentioned step. The American journals of the time were ready to welcome it as a bold step motivated by the patriotism of an enlightened and enterprising people. The whole thing was only the act of some influential men and some groups of whom I have spoken above. This event, which was almost a revolution and instantly changed the whole turn of affairs, was only the work of a spirit of intrigue and speculation.

On October 13, 1849, the constitution was adopted and signed. The evils and disorders of California date from that day. Despite everything running by chance under the administration of a military government which had no soldiers; with alcaldes as the only judicial and civil authority, they would have had only a few disorders and crimes. The admission of the new order of things, on the contrary, almost immediately inaugurated such an era of anarchy and crimes that the histories of other countries have few pages which could parallel those which we have been in the process of writing so mournfully for the past several years.

The electoral question immediately opened an immense arena to all ambitions, to all the slyness of these vicious and corrupt men. Weary of the work at the mines, the elections promised them a surer and greater production of wealth and more easily acquired.

In the place of the simple alcaldes, they must proceed to the nomination of a governor, a lieutenant governor-secretary of state, senators and representatives to Congress, members of the legislature, judges of the Supreme Court, of the district courts, attorneys, recorders, ordinary judges of the town and counties, inspectors, tax-collectors, treasurers, aldermen, municipal councilors, etc.; all important and lucrative positions because of their enormous salaries, and especially profitable because of the particular advantages and the facility which they offered then, and still do today, to expand the revenue.

Such was the object of the general preoccupation of these men. Everyone knew only that it was very easy for the *titulaires* to raise their salaries a hundred fold. Likewise, to achieve his purpose, the candidate would not shrink before any method. Their principal support was among this class of evildoers, who would be disowned by the least scrupulous society, among the gamblers, the "ballot box stuffers," the vote forgers, the "shoulder strikers" —these boxers, feared in New York, but who, as I have said before, were changed in Texas and here [into] revolver and dagger carriers or assassins. It was from this impure source that from 1850 to 1855 came forth all the elected persons of the people, officials to render justice or to administer the finances of the state.

Your Excellency already knows what the consequences of a similar organization have been. You know that despite the progressive amplification of the taxes each year and the increase of the taxable property, which in 1853 amounted to a hundred million piastres,[69] the state, towns, and counties are so constantly in debt that in that same year of 1853 the obligations of the state as well as those of San Francisco attained the enormous and unexplainable figure of several millions of piastres.[70]

What likewise demands the attention of all intelligent men is the long indifference or the patience of the American people in all these circumstances, and the audacity with which these peculiar officials, sheltered and protected by a certain group of contemptible men who in their turn were protected by the courts and the authorities, committed thefts, frauds and the most enormous embezzlements.[71]

Another strange fact is the promptness with which corruption spread in all the administrations and in all the bodies, not excepting the legislature and the tribunals. From thence came the promulgation of ridiculous laws, the application of which had always been impossible or had only one object—

speculation. It explains the arbitrary judgments which were flagrant violations of justice and equity, as well as the impunity of certain averred guilty persons, whose connections with the mentioned classes or their fortunes placed them under protection, from justice and from all punishment.*

It is certainly not astonishing that the constant application of such a system has encouraged thefts, murders, and assassinations, which have made each page of the history of California a desolate picture [*tableau*]. This era of crime has existed for five years, and probably would still have continued, had not the assassination on the street in broad daylight of James King of William,[72] editor of "The Evening Bulletin" and the first and only promoter of social and patriotic reform, suddenly awakened the people, shook the still healthy part of the Californian society almost to their intimate foundations, and provoked the organization of the Vigilance Committee, to which the majority of the inhabitants of the town of San Francisco and of the entire country have confided the cares of safeguarding their wealth, their rights, their privileges, and their existence. The principal character of this revolution is the spontaneity with which all the honest population has arisen against this band of oppressors, so long in power, and their infamous associates.

But one other question naturally arises at this time. What is the legality of this government and has it one? What will be its duration and what will be its moral and material influence upon the American people in this country?

Without daring to be able to solve such difficult questions, I will nevertheless call your attention to the fact that up to the present time the conduct of this commitee has been remarkable for the calmness, orderliness, and firmness which have dictated all its measures; that it has punished only the guilty and pursued only those men whose conduct has been so scandalous and so infamous that they inspire neither pity nor sympathy and whom even their own party does not dare to defend openly. Since this committee exists, it is regrettable that the center of its action is so circumscribed that outside of

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*[Moerenhout's note]. In the States such abuses must have a very much longer duration than anywhere else, especially in the newly acquired countries where the principal taxpayers, or those who are truly wronged, are the natives. The American government is not a protective government, and in imitation of the government no one is, or poses as such, not even parents with their children as soon as they are old enough to do without them. Hence this revolting egotism and the general indifference of the authorities and of the American people to the bad treatment [*les maux*] of the Indians as well as to the spoliations, thefts, and plunderings which they do not cease to commit among the people of the Spanish race in the provinces acquired from Mexico. That is also the cause for the indifference to abuses in their own country, when they are only partial or weigh only upon certain classes. But as among them each one must and does know how to defend himself and to maintain the rights and redress the wrongs which he suffers, so the masses as soon as the abuses become general and weigh upon all, know how to put order there, uphold their rights, and punish the guilty.

this center it can exercise only a moral influence; that the exercise of its power can only be momentary; and finally that they have to fear the outburst of a reactionary or of some private vengeance which will equally expose this country to a new series of evil deeds.

There are other consequences, the probability of which I cannot easily believe; such as the armed intervention of the federal authorities,[73] or the arraignment, by the committee, of the highest officials, which might result in a conflict. But even there the present crisis will probably have for a result only a series of private hostilities such as took place in Texas between the parties of regulators and moderators: lamentable disorders, but which would stop the progress of these new countries only momentarily. But the foreign residents must never mix in these disorders, for it is certain that sooner or later they will be blamed by the two antagonistic parties.

In any case, these disorders have nothing *de bien* menacing either for this country or for the future of the Union for a long time. As the Americans are and will be preoccupied, although they do not confess it, with the danger of a war with England or with other maritime powers of Europe, these local and momentary agitations especially for the new states such as Texas and California are in a way only crises, if not necessary at least inevitable for all these nascent societies of Americans, composed and organized in the beginning, as has been described.

The only serious question which will always be on the horizon of the future of the United States and which, even here, will perhaps be agitated some day, is the question of slavery.[74] The only obstacle which really stops the moral development of the American society is the large number of unemployed, who, entering in this way, have nothing, do not get out any more, and increase in number with each change of administration. The only truly detrimental thing undermining this society more and more is the corruption which affects with impunity these same men who spend their entire lives in upholding or fighting certain administrations, concerned periodically with elections, living in a disorderly [extravagant] manner, and, in order to serve themselves, encourage all that is most vile and most despicable in all stations and in all classes of the population.

Sooner or later this great country, in the midst of which I [have] lived for a long time, which I have visited in its various parts, and of the progress of which I believe I have given a correct idea, will inevitably find itself the prey of crises and of considerable revolutions. But I believe that the fermentation which has hardly begun between the different elements of this immense empire and in which only a very small part of the people have taken part until now, will only lead to a dreadful explosion very much later. Then the American nation, much more numerous, will feel itself compact enough, strong enough, to speak loudly to anyone and to be able to defy certain nations of Europe. The American people appear all the more removed from great political convulsions, for, the question of slavery excepted, there never has existed as yet sufficient cause for general discontent; and the people, always occupied with private interests and not knowing yet the poignant sufferings of misery, have neither interest nor leisure to make great revolutions.

I am ending this letter, already so long, here, with a last remark in regard to the moral revolution which has just been operating in San Francisco.

The reforming party or committee seems to be composed, with the exception of foreigners, almost exclusively of Northern men, and includes a very large number of "*Know Nothings*"[75] and black republicans. It is there [in its number] that it is dangerous, for these men, generally very exalted and very stubborn, would if they could carry it to an excess and in preference of party.

The party of "law and order,"[76] on the contrary, is composed almost entirely of men from the South and from New York; all the men in office and many lawyers. This party also numbers [includes] the loafers, "ballot stuffers," "shoulder strikers," gamblers, termes, which, as I have had the honor of saying, are equally expressed by political parasites, swindlers, knights of industry, boxers, people with revolvers and daggers, murderers and assassins. These [are the] people who are employed in the elections to falsify the votes, to intimidate, chase, or maltreat the voters of the opposing parties, and which the committee pursues and wishes to expel from the country. These classes are composed almost entirely of Irish or former residents of New York, New Orleans, or Texas.

Accept the homage of respect with which I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XX[77]

Moerenhout to Minister of Foreign Affairs

Monterey,[78] July 30, 1856

Monsieur le Ministre:

Your Excellency could not have completely forgotten the despatches in which it was intended that the question of the social and political state of California [be discussed], which I had the honor of addressing to you since my return to this country in June 1852. In these despatches I tried to show that neither the disorders, the anarchy nor the partial revolutions, with which this country has been ceaselessly afflicted, were of a nature to slacken its progressive march or to stop its flight toward a higher destiny.

In my communication of June 18, 1855 (*Direction des Consulats* number thirty-one), I said: "It has always seemed to me that the most interesting question, in so far as the state of this country interests the *politique* and commerce of foreign nations, is to know whether the anarchy, the disorders, the immorality, the hostile tendencies toward foreigners, will become a serious obstacle to immigration, which this country needs, and will hinder it from continuing its improvements and its progress; whether they will injure the development of its immense resources and keep it from becoming before many years one of the most flourishing states in the Union and the most powerful maritime country of these oceans."

My response to this question was confined then to a description of the fine hydraulic works already carried on at the placers, to the auriferous exploitations, and to the innovations and immense agricultural progress of this country. I spoke also of the thousand new industries which were developing on all sides at that time, despite the obstacles created by an anarchy without precedent, and despite the financial crisis, which at that period threatened commerce with total ruin.[79]

A year later, in my despatch which I had the honor of addressing to Your Excellency (*Direction Politique* number three),[80] after having described the sad political and social state of this country, the distressing immorality of the public officials, the uprising of the inhabitants of the city and county of San Francisco, I said: "In any case, I believe the disorders have in them nothing very menacing; these local and momentary agitations are, for new states such as Texas and California, only the inevitable and but-little dangerous crises to be found in recently-born American societies."

After having had indicated [to you] in this last despatch the causes of these disorders, Your Excellency will wish to permit me to explain why this lack of good laws and of a good administration, and the reign of such anarchy, have had, after all, only a feeble influence upon the prosperity of these new countries and why these obstacles will not seriously hinder their progressive march and their material improvements.

The true cause of such a strange state of things is that, despite the recognition of a general government, everything in this immense empire is divided.[81] It is because the political and social dissensions as well as the grievances of the people of any state have only a purely local character, which cannot look forward to any general movement on the part of the masses, that no uprising considerable enough to merit the name of revolution can take place.

The general government, as I have indicated in a note in my despatch number three, is not a government protective in its nature. Even the feeling of duty appears in many circumstances to influence it only slightly. Its right of intervention is also very limited. The case of war excepted, it has no initiative to exercise. It can mix neither in the administration nor in the internal police of the states. It does not have the right to intervene with regard to their social and political dissensions, unless it is officially requested to do so by the governors of the same states.

The Indians themselves, who, because of their difficult and precarious position in the midst of the white population, have great need of its protection, only rarely receive even the slightest assistance. Its protection of these homeless dispossessed tribes is only apparent and often derisory and cruel. The Indian reservation, of which the Americans speak frequently with emphasis, most often gives occasion, as in this region, only to odious speculations, with the help of which the agents of the Federal government enrich themselves; and this in the name of humanity, justice and philanthropy. The promises taken by these agents in the name of the superior authorities are almost never respected. Their action or their power is not an obstacle to the depredations and spoliations of which they [the Indians] are forever their victims.

What I say here in regard to the Indians equally applies to the inhabitants of foreign races living in the newly acquired countries. Their most common and sacred rights are disregarded with impunity, trampled under foot, without the Federal government having the desire or the power to protect them.

To this great division of sovereign and independent states we must add the multiple subdivisions to which these same states are subject by their own constitutions. In the same way, each state comprises (*comports*) an *ensemble* of small sovereignties, designated by the terms counties, towns, and precincts, shires, *villes*, *bourges*, and *banlieues*, all of which have special laws, administrations, and police; in which the inhabitants themselves choose their magistrates, regulate their own difficulties, frequently themselves redress the wrongs which have been done them, without invoking the assistance or the intervention of the State authorities. Hence these summary executions by lynch law; hence also the creation of the vigilance committees, established according to the same principle and the same authority.*

To these considerations, I must add another which appears to me equally worthy of notice; that is, in the United States ambition does not yet have glory for a stimulant. The only and unique motive power of all their enterprises is the personal or moneyed interest. Every candidate is serious only on condition of being able to pay, to reward largely the men of his party. The one, who would have only glory or honor to offer, not only will remain alone but would make himself ridiculous. I must add that, on their side, the masses, always preoccupied with their private interests, almost everywhere maintain a foundation of common sense, which for a long time yet will alone suffice to prevent all great commotion in the interior of the states. Likewise it will know how to avert, if need be, the truly dangerous questions, in order to maintain the Union or to offer an insurmountable obstacle to the division of these same states.

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*[Moerenhout's note:] At each violation of the law, the sheriffs can do for the counties and the cities that which in similar circumstances the governors can do for the states; that is, in the same manner as the govenor can summon the militia of the state, the sheriff can call the mass of citizens and can, in case of need, request the assistance of the state authorities, as the governor can solicit that of the general government. Most of the time these calls remain without responses. The annals of nearly all the counties of California have recorded what is properly called summary executions in the name of lynch law. The opposition of some sheriffs in similar circumstances has had no more effect than the proclamation of the present governor of California concerning the Vigilance Committee, which really governs us. Thus there is a very sad state of affairs which can only be explained with difficulty in Europe, but the moral of which is that here all these deplorable agitations are only partial [local?] without serious consequences either for the Union or for the states which are the theaters for them. Rarely do these movements extend beyond the limits within which they are born. Generally they only affect a small part of the population. They are of short duration and soon forgotten.

Thus it is that the history of the first years of California is very analogous to that of other new states, [but] with these differences, that the emigration which has flung itself suddenly on this new country was not composed exclusively of Americans; that it was composed solely of men; and borrowed its component parts [*empruntait ses élémens* (*sic*)] from all the countries of the earth. In every other respect, this country has only followed the progress of Texas and that of the new states invaded by the Anglo-American race for the past twenty-five or thirty years.

In all these countries and in all these circumstances, the Americans appear to have adapted themselves to more or less justifying the moral which gives right to the strongest, or to the most cunning. They have chased or exterminated the Indians everywhere and have taken possession of the wealth of the natives, who have neither their experience nor their cleverness for business.*

A fact worthy of notice is that the Anglo-American people absorb the other people rather than infuse itself with them. It is so much easier for them in the countries of which I have just spoken, that it meets only absolutely new populations, inexperienced and peaceful, who are frightened with a state of society where neither position nor right appear sacred and who, seeing themselves immediately attacked in their property and in their person, lose all courage in discovering that the law is only a dead letter, justice a vain word, and that there is no security for [of] persons with this first rebuff from American society. Thus it is not astonishing, that the more honest but weaker people unconsciously withdraw before what I would call this flood of brutality and injustice and, not being sustained by new emigration, a few years will lead to [their?] complete disappearance.

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*[Moerenhout's note:] The promptness with which the Americans have taken possession of the wealth of the Mexican population in California is almost marvelous. Eight years of occupation have sufficed to absorb all the northern part down to San José, and even to the environs of Los Angeles to the South, three-quarters of the cattle and of the lands which composed all the property of these unfortunate ones. Wherever the Americans are settled in numbers, they have left nothing to the Californian inhabitants. To these spoliations and these thefts, even the Federal government appears to be united. Who speaks of the obligation in which this government has placed them of proving the validity of their claims—that of making them pay taxes on lands which by the first measure has dispossessed them. In any case they will never be able to escape the endless multitude of lawyers, squatters, swindlers, cattle-thieves, and people without principle or honesty who surround them on all sides. Another strange fact, but one very consistent with American manners, is that the gentleness, the honesty, the experience and the timidity which form the striking traits of character of the Californian Mexicans, far from awakening any feeling of pity, kindness, or of justice in the Americans of these early times or in those who arrived in this country since then, more often provoke only contempt and mockery. There is in this respect a distinct trait of the American character in these countries and everywhere, I believe. No one poses as a protector. Those who do not know how to defend their rights or guarantee themselves against fraud are not worthy either of pity or sympathy.

The American colonists, on the contrary, far from being surprised or frightened by the disorders and crimes which always signalize the early times of their settlements in these new countries, know that this anarchy and agitation are only momentary. They take their families there, migrate with wife and children and in this manner gradually bring about the reorganization of their own society in the new countries of which they have become the masters. It is the introduction of their family and the habit of the American woman of emigrating at the same time as the men that accounts for the repulsion which inspires Americans to mix with inferior races, a repulsion which is rarely surmounted. With such a tendency not only does the Anglo-American race remain pure, but in this manner a few years suffice to achieve its destructive work everywhere.

This prompt and general introduction of the family in every case is all to the advantage of this same American race. The arrival of the woman generally inaugurates a better state of society and [one that is] of a more moral existence. Generally she puts an end also to the disorders which characterize the early settlements of these new states. She, as well as the children, are like powerful bonds which attach the American colonist to the soil of a deserted or foreign country where he [they] has [have] come to establish themselves. To all these causes combined I believe must be attributed the prompt, almost magic success of an industrious, moral, religious population, which almost everywhere in these new countries has replaced the mob of corrupt men and of people without faith or law.

What a difference with the Spanish race from one end of America to the other. It, on the contrary, has constantly adulterated its purity by constantly, and without the least repugnance or prudence, mixing with races of inferior blood, Indian or black, thus gradually preparing for the abandonment to which the descendants of this race have fallen. By these regrettable crossings they are hardly distinguishable in so many localities today from the Indian and black races, and are scarcely superior to them either in manners, industry or intelligence.

I do not know a better way to end this ensemble of general considerations than to call Your Excellency's attention again to this fact, doubtlessly known to you, that, aside from the famous question of slavery, there is really no dangerous question in the United States; that is, a question of revolution which might imperil some states or the Union. The classification of different parties, the division of their differences in regard to the next presidential election, clearly show to all judicious observers that the entire mass of the states is far from profound commotion and they are really and seriously agitated only when the question of slavery itself is put in play.

As for California, it is far from being in revolution, for one cannot give this name to the agitation of which San Francisco is the theater, and to those agitations of which other counties of the state are actually the prey. As I have had the honor of saying in my preceding despatch, these movements are not political; they are not even general. They are the expression of the discontent of a *ville* against a certain order of things which has its echoes in all the country. It is a simple injunction to magistrates and to all the authorities to do their duty better in the future. A movement of this nature, deplorable as it is because of so much illegality, as for example when it gives contempt to laws, will have effect for the moment only. Unless the general government has the imprudence to intervene, it is reaching its end[82] and will really terminate without any vexatious consequences for this country.

Accept the homage of the respect with which I have the honor of being Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

(To be continued)

NOTES

68. On the constitutional convention of 1849, see J. Ross Browne's transcription in his *Report of the Debates in the Constitutional Convention of California* (Washington, 1850); Bancroft, *History of California,* VI, 276 ff.; Hittell, *op. cit.,* II, 756 ff.; Cardinal Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850* (New York, 1914), *passim;* Joseph Ellison, "Struggle for Civil Government in California," this QUARTERLY, X (1931), 150 ff.; Rev. S. H. Willey, *Transition Period of California* (San Francisco, 1901), *passim.*

69. On the subject of taxes, see Soulé *et al., op. cit.,* pp. 393, 394; Hittell, *op. cit.,* II, 801-802, and III, 387 ff., 407 ff.

70. On indebtedness at this time, see Bancroft, *History of California,* VI, 772-76.

71. As to the prevalence of crime, see Williams, *loc. cit.;* Bancroft, *History of California,* VI, 742 ff.; also his *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco, 1888), chapters XI-XII, XXI-XXIV *passim,* and *Popular Tribunals, loc. cit.;* Hittell, *op. cit.,* III, 460 ff.

72. For the assassination of James King of William and formation of the Vigilance

Committee of 1856, see 34th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 101 (ser. no. 824); 34th Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Misc. Doc. 1 (ser. 835); 34th Cong., 3d sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 43 (ser. 881); Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 746-54; and his *Popular Tribunals*, II, 40-41, 55-68; Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 462 ff.; W. T. Coleman, "San Francisco Vigilance Committee," in *Century Magazine*, XLIII, 133-59. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 388 ff., gives an account of the period subsequent to the time of the first Vigilance Committee; an exhaustive bibliography appears in the appendix to this admirable piece of historical writing.

73. Concerning the Vigilance Committee and Federal interference, see Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation* (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 125-35.

74. On the slavery issue in California, see C. A. Duniway, "Slavery in California after 1848," in *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1905, I, 243-48; Ellison, "Struggle for Civil Government . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 132-34, 151-52.

75. See Note 45, above, for reference on the Know Nothing party.

76. On the Law and Order party in California, see Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, I, 76-87, 313 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, 100, 195-99; and Dillon, *idem.*

77. Correspondance Politique, Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 115, folios 114-18, *verso.*

78. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey, No. 4. Direction Politique.

79. For the financial and business crises of 1854 and 1855, especially the banking and business failures of the latter year, see Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 423-59; Josiah Royce, *California from the Conquest* . . . (Boston, 1886), Chap. V, section 6.

80. Document No. XIX. This is not the exact language of his previous despatch from which he is quoting.

81. A very good account of California in its relations as a frontier province with the Federal government is contained in Joseph W. Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869* (Berkeley, 1927). Several problems discussed in this letter are taken up in detail in this excellently written piece of historical scholarship. See also Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals* and his *California Inter Pocula, passim.*

82. The general committee of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856 was adjourned *sine die* on August 18, 1856, although as a factor in California life it long survived the formal adjournment. Executive meetings continued as late as November 1859. (Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, II, 541.) They formed the People's party and were active in California politics.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

Ainsworth, Edward Maddin
California Jubilee; nuggets from many hidden veins. [n.p.] Murray and Gee, 1948. 272 p. $3.00.

Balzer, Robert Lawrence
California's Best Wines, illustrated by Cas Duchow. Pasadena, Anderson & Ritchie, 1948. 153 p. $4.00.

Borthwick, J. D.
Three Years in California, with index and foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1948. 318 p. illus., map. $15.00.

Bruce, John
Gaudy Century, the story of San Francisco's hundred years of robust journalism. New York, Random House, 1948. 302 p. $3.75.

Caen, Herb
The San Francisco Book, photographs by Max Yavno. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948. 119 p. $5.00.

Collins, Carvel, ed.
Sam Ward in the Gold Rush. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 220 p. illus. $3.50.

Colton, Walter
The California Diary (a reprint of Three Years in California, 1850). Oakland, Biobooks, 1948. $15.00.

Cosgrave, George
Early California Justice, a history of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California 1849-1944, edited by Roy Vernon Sowers. San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1948. 97 p. $10.00.

De Ford, Miriam Allen
Psychologist Unretired, the life pattern of Dr. Lillien J. Martin of San Francisco. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 127 p. illus. $3.00.

De Roos, Robert
The Thirsty Land. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 229 p. illus. $4.00.

Farquhar, Francis P.
Yosemite, the Big Trees, and the High Sierra, a selective Bibliography. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948. $7.50.

Griffith, Beatrice Winston
American Me. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948. 341 p. illus. $3.50.

Henry, Darold J.
California Gem Trails. Portland, Ore., Mineralogist Pub. Co., 329 S. E. 32nd Ave. [1948] 63 p. illus. $1.50.

Holmes, Harold C.
A Descriptive and Priced Catalog . . . Formerly the Collection of Thomas Wayne Norris. Oakland, The Holmes Book Co., 1948. 217 p. $10.00. [Grabhorn Press]

Hulbert, Archer Butler
Forty-niners; the chronicle of the California Trail. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1948. 340 p. illus., maps.

Hutchinson, W. H.
One Man's West, drawings by John Pagan. Chico, Calif., Hurst & Yount, 1948. 127 p. illus. $2.00.

ISSLER, ANN ROLLER
  Happier for his Presence [Biography of Robert Louis Stevenson]. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 260 p. illus. $3.50.
MCCLURE, JAMES D.
  California Landmarks. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 150 p. illus. $3.00.
MILLER, MAX
  The Town with the Funny Name [La Jolla]. New York, Dutton, 1948. 224 p. illus. $2.75.
MUENCH, JOSEF
  Along Yosemite Trails. New York, Hastings, 1948. 101 p. illus. $2.75.
MUIR, JOHN
  Yosemite and the Sierra Nevadas, photographs by Ansel Adams. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948. 132 p. illus. $6.00.
PALMER, T. S.
  Place Names of the Death Valley Region in California and Nevada. [n.p.] 1948. 80 p.
PERALTA ASSOCIATES, OAKLAND
  From Shore to Shore, The Key Route. Oakland, Peralta Associates, 1948. 20 p. illus. $1.50.
RYDER, DAVID WARREN
  Memories of the Mendocino Coast. San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1948. 81 p. illus.
SAN FRANCISCO MUSEUM OF ART
  Landscape Design: 1948. San Francisco, The Museum, 1948. illus. $2.00.
SETTLE, RAYMOND W. AND MARY LUND SETTLE
  Empire on Wheels. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 180 p. illus. $3.50. (Transportation Series)
TRIPP, C. E.
  Ace High the Frisco Detective; or, The Girl Sport's Double Game, a story of the Sierra and the Golden Gate City. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1948. $8.50.
WHITE, JOHN R. AND SAMUAL J. PUSATERI
  Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948. 224 p. illus. $3.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

November 1, 1948 to January 31, 1949

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From an ANONYMOUS DONOR–*Manual of the Union High School of Redlands, Lugonia, and Crafton, 1897.* Redlands, Citograph Power Print., 1897.

From MR. RICHARD K. BEARDSLEY–His: *Culture Sequences in Central California Archaeology.* Reprinted from *American Antiquity,* V. 14, no. 1 (July 1948).

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS–Lowell High School, *The Lowell Annual, 1905.* [San Francisco] Xmas, 1905.

From BINFORDS & MORT, PUBLISHERS–Murphy, Celeste G., *The People of the Pueblo, or The Story of Sonoma,* Centennial Edition. Portland, Ore., Binfords & Mort [1948]

From CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES, DIVISION OF MINES–Its: *Bulletin 141, Geologic Guidebook along Highway 49–Sierran Gold Belt, The Mother Lode Country* (Centennial Edition). San Francisco, 1948.

From CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY–Its: *Handbook of Information for use of Members of California Legislature General Session 1949.* [Sacramento, Calif., State Print. Off., 1949]

From MISS PEARL CHASE–First National Trust and Savings Bank of Santa Barbara, *Facts Behind The Fame of Santa Barbara County.* [Santa Barbara, The Company, 1948]

From MR. E. I. EDWARDS–His: *"Into an Alkali Valley" the First Written Account of Death Valley.* Los Angeles, Edwards and Williams, 1948.

From REVEREND MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.–His: *The Franciscan "Mission" to San Fernando College, Mexico, 1749.* Reprinted from *The Americas,* V. 5, no. 1 (July 1948).

From MR. HAROLD C. HOLMES–*A Descriptive and Priced Catalog of Books, Pamphlets, and Maps Relating Directly or Indirectly to the History, Literature and Printing of California & The Far West, Formerly the Collection of Thomas Wayne Norris, Livermore, California.* Oakland, The Holmes Book Co., 1948.

From MR. W. H. HUTCHINSON–His: *One Man's West.* Chico, Hurst & Yount, 1948.

From MR. JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON–His: *The Creation of Joaquin Murieta.* Reprinted from *The Pacific Spectator,* V. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1948).

From MR. OTIS RUSSELL JOHNSON–Ryder, David Warren, *Memories of the Mendocino Coast.* San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1948.

From MACKENZIE & HARRIS, INC.–*Centaur and Arrighi;* specimen broadside designed by Bruce Rogers, the text by Robert Grabhorn. San Francisco, Taylor & Taylor, 1948.

From MR. ERNEST MARTENS–*Rules of the Board of Education and Regulations of the Public Schools, San Francisco, 1880.* San Francisco, P. J. Thomas, 1880.

From MR. THOMAS W. NORRIS–*Two Letters of James McHall Jones, delegate to the California Constitutional Convention, 1849.* From the Collection of Thomas W. Norris, Carmel, California, December 25th, 1948.

From MR. T. S. PALMER–*Place Names of the Death Valley Region in California and Nevada,* edited by T. S. Palmer. [n.p., 1948]

From THE RUSS BUILDING COMPANY–Russ Building Company, *Annual Report, 1947-48, Russ Building San Francisco.* San Francisco, Conner Company, 1947.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER–Mason, R. B., *Proclamation* concerning the exchange or selling of "spirituous liquor or wine" to an Indian. Broadside, Monterey, November 29, 1847. [San Francisco, 1847]

From MR. VERNON J. SAPPERS–*From Shore to Shore, the Key Route.* Oakland, Peralta Associates, 1948.

From MR. FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER–His: *The State Historical Society of Missouri; a Semicentennial History.* Columbia, The Society, 1948.

From MR. & MRS. ROY VERNON SOWERS–Cosgrave, George, *Early California Justice, the History of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California, 1849-1944,* edited by Roy Vernon Sowers. San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1948.

From UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD–Meacham, Walter E., *Old Oregon Trail, Roadway of American Home Builders,* New York, American Pioneer Trails Assoc., Inc., 1948.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS–Collins, Carvel, ed., *Sam Ward in the Gold Rush.* Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1949.

From MISS RUTH TEISER–*Origin of Wells, Fargo & Company 1841-1852,* by Ruth Teiser and Catherine Harroun. Reprinted from *The Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* (June 1948).

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER–*California Mines and Minerals,* San Francisco, California Miners Assn., 1899; Carrera Stampa, Manuel, *Mapas y Planos Relativos a Mexico.* Reprinted from *Revista Iberoamericana,* Febrero de 1947; Conant, A. J., *Footprints of Vanished Races,* St. Louis, C. R. Barns, 1879; Hittell, John S., *Tannwald, a drama,* San Francisco, Alta California Print., 1878; Isbell, F. A., *Mining & Hunting in the Far West 1852-1870,* Burlingame, W. P. Wreden, 1948; Macdonald, A. S., *A Collection of Verse,* San Francisco, 1914; *Rules of Practice in the Supreme Court of California, adopted at the June term, 1850.* [San Francisco, J. Winchester, 1850]

From WHITTLESEY HOUSE–O'Brien, Robert, *This Is San Francisco,* illustrated by Antonio Sotomayor. New York, Whittlesey House, c1948.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–Berkeleyan Stock Company, comp., *College Verses.* San Francisco, California Publishing Co., 1882.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From GENERAL H. H. ARNOLD–His: "My Life In The Valley of the Moon" in the *National Geographic Magazine.* (December 1948).

From REVEREND MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.–*Knights of Columbus Journal,* Southern California Chapter, Special California Centennial Edition, 1849-1948. Los Angeles, October 1948.

From MR. SIDNEY TEISER–His: "First Associate Justice of Oregon Territory: O. C. Pratt," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* V. 49, no. 3 (September 1948).

From ZAMORANO CLUB–*Hoja Volante,* nos. 14-21, February 1947-November 1948.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. CHARLES E. ARNOLD–His: *The Arnold Family, in California since 1855, in San Diego since 1869, Brokers in Real Estate and Associated Lines, Civic, Social, and Cultural Workers.* Compiled for the San Diego Historical Society and for the California Historical Society 1940-1948. Photostat of typed copy with mounted photographs.

From MR. R. H. CROSS, SR.–*A Large Collection of Photostats and Typed Copies of*

Various Documents, Letters, etc. used as source material for *Early California Justice,* by the late Judge George Cosgrave; also Judge Cosgrave's typed manuscript, with notes and correspondence relative to the book. Including over 50 photostats, 20 typed copies of documents and over 70 letters to the author answering various inquiries relative to the matter of the book.

From MR. CHARLES KASCH—A letter from Robert Louis Stevenson to Mr. Donat, September 10, 1888; Two letters from Woodrow Wilson to Charles H. Shinn of North Fork, California; A circular letter issued in San Francisco on October 20th, 1862, regarding Relief Fund for soldiers of the National Army.

From OAKLAND PUBLIC LIBRARY—Thomas, Mabel W., One Hundred and One California Writers, Typewritten manuscript.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER—A citation signed 12th Jan. 1846 by Juan Gilroy; a receipt for one horse and one sword of Phelipe Amis signed, 25th Sept. 1846 by W. Blackburn.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From GENERAL H. H. ARNOLD—Map: Southwestern United States, compiled and drawn in the Cartographic Section of the National Geographic society . . . Washington, D. C., December 1948.

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Negative photostat of Russian map of the Pacific Coast, 1802.

From C. E. von GELDERN, M.D.—Two photographs, Dr. C. E. von Geldern, of Sonoma, and his son Dr. Otto von Geldern.

From MRS. JOHN HEINZER—Framed photographs of three Modoc Indian prisoners, Captain Jack, Scar-Faced Charley, and Schonchin.

From MR. GERALD KANE—Three photographs: Table of distances from Hotel Watt, Austin, Nevada; Clifton Tunnel, Austin, Nevada, 1898; portrait of Anton P. Maestretti.

From MR. GUY C. MILLER—Photograph of Pioneer Park Observatory, Telegraph Hill, San Francisco, 1884.

From RUSS BUILDING COMPANY—Photograph of the Russ Building.

MISCELLANEOUS

From an ANONYMOUS DONOR—Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express receipt for June 13, 1898.

From MR. L. M. HEROLD—Pass to Oakland after the fire, April 1906; Pass to visit his property after the fire, May 1906; Two transfers of the Presidio & Ferries R. R. Co., last trip and last car of the company run as a cable car.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Official Souvenir Program, Portola Festival, San Francisco, 1948; Rose Bowl Program, January 1, 1949.

From MR. ERNEST MARTENS—Golden State Boot and Shoe Store business card; Broadway Grammar School, San Francisco, card of merit, October 29, 1869.

From MISS IDA RICHARTZ—Black lace jacket, handkerchief, and silk jacket owned by Elizabeth Weeks, wife of Samuel P. Weeks Sr.

From MRS. HELEN MARYE THOMAS—Insignia, with accompanying documents, of the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky given to Ambassador George T. Marye by the Emperor Nicholas II, in original red leather case.

From MR. WILLIAM WAGENER—Badge of the Exempt Fire Company San Francisco.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Eleven meal tickets issued in San Francisco after the fire in 1906; Broadside, United States Mail Line from Downieville to Nevada City, Campton, and Marysville. [Downieville] Mountain Messenger Print. [n.d.]

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

For the Year Ending December 31, 1948

The Society's activities during the past year have kept pace with the added interests and responsibilities occasioned by the centennials, now current in California. Throughout the year, officers, members, and staff continued their assistance to many individuals and organizations; illustrative materials were furnished for advertisements, members participated actively in the work of sundry committees, and aid was given in connection with research on important historical subjects.

Three Special Publications were issued during the year: in January, *California Gold Discovery*, and, in March, Arthur Woodward's *Lances at San Pascual*, and *The Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman*, edited by Mrs. Irene D. Paden.

In July, notice was sent to the members that a Book of Memories had been established for preservation in the Society's archives. Contributions to the Library Fund, made as memorials to members and friends of members, have averaged three a month since that time, and seventeen names have thereby been inscribed in the Book of Memories.

In November, the Board of Directors authorized publication of a monthly news letter, called NOTES from the California Historical Society, to serve as an informal channel of communication between the Society and its members. The preliminary issue was distributed in December. Financial provision for publication of the NOTES was made possible by the inclusion of luncheon notices therein, thus eliminating the cost of printing and mailing post-card notices.

DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

At the annual Business Meeting, held at the Palace Hotel on January 23, K. K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Anson S. Blake, Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Allen L. Chickering, Templeton Crocker, Ralph H. Cross, Aubrey Drury, Francis P. Farquhar, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Joseph R. Knowland, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., and Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter were elected to serve as directors for the year, and until their successors are elected. The first meeting of the Board of Directors following the election was held on February 11, at which Anson S. Blake was elected president, Joseph R. Knowland, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., and Francis P. Farquhar first, second, and third vice-presidents respectively, Warren R. Howell secretary, and George L. Harding treasurer, all to serve during the forthcoming year, and until their successors are elected.

MEMBERSHIPS

Largely in line with a general tightening of business conditions which occurred during the last three months of the year, the net increase in membership fell slightly below the high average of the past two years. The Society was able, however, to end the year with an increase from 1330 to 1443 members, or a net gain of 113. Of these, 61 were new sustaining members, bringing the total in that class to 145, and 5 were new patron members, with a total of 26. The Society is deeply grateful to those members who thus generously increased their dues in order to help meet rising costs of operation. It is gratifying to record that much of the increased membership comes from outside the Bay region, thereby expanding and solidifying the area of influence of the Society.

LIBRARY AND GIFTS

In August, Miss Jane Wilson, the librarian, resigned to become librarian with the Air Forces in Germany. She was replaced in September with the appointment of Mrs. Virginia C. Parker, a graduate of the University of California School of Librarianship. Progress was continued in the work of cataloging the backlog of materials, and current accessions have all been processed.

During the year, 536 books and manuscripts, and 185 pictures and museum objects were accessioned. Through volunteer help, all newspapers were listed and the file of photographic negatives was cataloged. A goodly portion of the pictures, heretofore uncataloged, was also processed. The cumulative index to the QUARTERLY has been carried through volume XVI. Gifts, all of which have been acknowledged in the QUARTERLY, came to the library from some 270 members and friends, and included, as a happy surprise from three members, substantial cash contributions to the Library Fund.

MEETINGS

The Board of Directors held its customary eleven meetings on the second Wednesday of each month except July. One dinner meeting was held in conjunction with the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association on January 2, at which President Blake presided, and at which the speakers were Dr. Owen C. Coy, Joseph R. Knowland, and Dr. Aubrey Neasham. Eight luncheon meetings were held in San Francisco and one, in September, at the Portola Discovery site on Sweeney Ridge.

Luncheon speakers and their subjects were:

January 23: The Reverend John W. Winkley, "Gold and Ghost-Towns After One Hundred Years."

February 12: Dr. Frederic Logan Paxson, "The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo."

March 11: Benjamin F. Gilbert, "Navies in the Pacific, 1861-1865."

April 8: Mrs. Irene D. Paden, "The Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman."

May 13: Mrs. Hilda K. Wilgus, "17 Years with the Rollins Collection of Western Americana."

June 10: Mrs. William H. Voiles, "Old Homes of El Dorado" (with slides).

September 16: Dr. Frank M. Stanger, "The Portola Discovery Site."

October 14: Col. Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County."
November 11: "William Keith, Portrait Painter of Significant California Personalities" (illustrated)—a program in conjunction with the Keith Art Association.

Respectfully submitted,
Warren R. Howell, *Secretary*

Owing to the delay in receiving the financial statement from the auditors, the Annual Report of the Treasurer does not appear here but will be published in the June QUARTERLY.

Meetings

Preliminary to the showing of twenty-four originals and photographs of William Keith's portraits at the Society's luncheon meeting on November 11, 1948, Mrs. Camille Johnston Ehrenfels, chairman for the Keith Art Association's display, recounted informally her personal recollections of the famous California artist. As a student at Mark Hopkins Institute of Art in San Francisco, and, in 1901, as the first woman to register in architecture at the University of California in Berkeley under Bernard Maybeck, Mrs. Ehrenfels had had chance meetings with Mr. Keith on the ferry boats. One day, with some trepidation, she showed him a bound blank book containing sketches by her artist friends, whereupon he said that he, too, would be represented by a water color. But the earthquake intervened, the book was lost, and, in its place, Mrs. Ehrenfels received, through the generosity of the Keith family, one of her fellow-commuter's paintings.

Program master for the occasion was Mr. Frank Joyce, public relations officer for many associations of note that are concerned with forms of art. He commented briefly on each picture. They were spread out on a large table and consisted of reproductions of portraits, among which were those of H. E. Huntington, E. H. Harriman, Rev. Mr. Giles Easton, Miss Jean Mills, as well as the originals of some of Keith's Munich models, Mrs. Keith included. The luminosity of the head and shoulders of the sitters against the dark backgrounds was beautifully reproduced in the photographs, even if the period in which they were painted did not call for gold helmets.

This exhibition had been preceded by other displays at the Keith Art Association's headquarters, showing Keith as engraver and water colorist. On the first Sunday of every month, between 3 and 5 o'clock, friends and guests are welcomed at the Keith home on Ridge Road in Berkeley.

On January 28, 1949, following the annual business meeting, members and guests of the Society looked back on the *Gaudy Century* that had elapsed since the find at Coloma. They had the advantage of being guided in their retrospect by the city editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, John Bruce, author of the recent book bearing that title, from the original manuscript of which, they were told, 75,000 words had been cut by the publishers (Random House, New York, 1948), because of space limitations. Even so, it contains 302 pages, not counting Joseph Henry Jackson's particularly fine introduction. All of which goes to show that the amount of knowledge in the possession of the author, on the subject of San Francisco's hundred years of "robust journalism," as the sub-title terms it, is boundless.

This hundred-year span was "yeasty with tumultuous events," in the words of the author. From the newspaper-till point of view the first year was disastrous because, with the shout of gold in the foothills, San Francisco had been depopulated; there were no subscribers and no advertisers left, forcing the *Star* and the *Californian* to close down their presses. But the field was not vacant for long. The *Alta California* made its appearance in the first month of 1849, and by the middle of the year former New York printers in the role of impresarios were sparring for journalistic position in what Mr. Bruce calls a "flush of newspaper creation." Thereafter, through page after page of the *Gaudy Century* the excitement runs in every direction, but not too fast for Editor John Nugent of the *Herald* to ask, in the rabid and rapid-paced 1850's, was freedom of speech to be "crushed in this city?" And yet Tom Sim King, brother of James, felt, in saying goodbye to the *Bulletin,* that "the temper of the times would not admit of delay in searching for jingling words and honeyed expressions." It is this printing of excerpts from editorials as well as from speeches in the book, on such subjects as fires, duels, thieves, murderers, politics, that gives the reader time to get his breath—time, such as the actual newspaper reader of any day needs while trying to separate half- from dietetically-baked ideas.

Mr. Jackson in his introduction speaks of the author's early life with "tough baseball-playing kids." As his hearers discovered, black eyes and torn pants, fatal and otherwise, in the political and sociological history of San Francisco, do seem to have entered easily and deeply into Mr. Bruce's understanding of what to expect from western gaudiness mixed with yeastiness.

In Memoriam

TEMPLETON CROCKER

September 2, 1884–December 12, 1948

Mr. Crocker's services to many public enterprises are too well known to need comment here. This notice will cover, therefore, only his relationship to the California Historical Society.

He was one of a small group of thirty-four, constituting the first membership, that considered the reviving of the Society in 1922. Mr. Crocker was elected president and, as long as he held that office, he gave time and thought to the affairs of the institution as well as generous financial aid. His influence brought in numerous additions to the membership rolls.

The Society was first housed in a single room in the old Wells, Fargo Express Building at 85 Second Street. Mr. Crocker took the adjoining office to house his large and valuable collection of books, manuscripts and documents pertaining to the history of California. Thus the Society was able to offer students and prospective members a library for research and study from the very beginning.

When he retired from the presidency of the Society, he did not relax his support nor lose his contact with its affairs. It was he who suggested the move to the Western Women's Club and who underwrote the increased rental, over the amount that had been paid for the old quarters. When the Society moved to its present quarters, he continued his support until the increased membership made this no longer necessary. At about that time he made an outright gift of his library to the Society.

During the early days and in the years of depression, he did not confine himself to his stated monthly support of the organization. He was always ready to join the anonymous group of members who made up deficits or joined in purchasing desirable acquisitions to the library.

At his passing, it seems only proper that the members should realize that he was the earliest member of the group whose loyalty and support have made the continued existence of the Society possible in years of stress. Its record of achievement is our best evidence of gratitude.

Anson S. Blake

Book of Memories

In memory of the following, contributions made to the Library Fund have been received since the appearance of the December QUARTERLY, and the names of the persons so honored will be entered in the Society's Book of Memories.

Oscar Thomas Barber
Lillian Hoogs Blaisdell
Philip Read Bradley
Randolph Clement
Thomas Norman Harvey

New Members

NAME	PLACE	PROPOSED BY
Amador County Historical Society	Jackson	Membership Committee
Arthur R. Anderson	Oakland	Thomas W. Norris
Miss Nancy Anderson	San Francisco	Miss Jane Wilson
Nat Davis	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Richard O. Driscoll	San Jose	Miss Alta C. Nolan
Sidney W. Fish	Carmel	Membership Committee
Mrs. Eldena L. George	Willows	Ralph H. Cross
Robert Nightingale Hart	Orinda	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
J. S. Holliday	New Haven, Conn.	W. J. Holliday
Kern County Historical Society	Bakersfield	Membership Committee
Mrs. W. J. Laing	Newcastle	Ralph H. Cross
Los Angeles County Law Library	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Grace M. Magee, M.D.	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Grant Morrow, M.D.	San Francisco	Edgar M. Kahn
Ernest Moss	Auburn	Ralph H. Cross
Paul A. Pflueger	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Miss Eva Powell	San Francisco	Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter
Mrs. Waters Sellman	San Francisco	Miss Alta C. Nolan
Shasta Historical Society	Redding	Membership Committee
Mrs. J. C. Shinn	Niles	Mrs. Clarence Shuey
Frederick J. Simpson	Palo Alto	Guy C. Miller
Mrs. James Sherrill Taylor	San Francisco	Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Fred H. Thieme	Oakland	Membership Committee
Miss Florence Williams	San Francisco	Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Julia Cooley Altrocchi (Mrs. Rudolph Altrocchi) is a native of Connecticut. She grew up in Chicago, graduated from Vassar College in 1914, and for the last two decades has been a resident of California. Her first book, *Snow Covered Wagons* (Macmillan, 1937), received one of two silver medals awarded by the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. Another book, *The Old California Trail*, was published by the Caxton Press in 1940. To appear shortly is her *Spectacular San Francisco*, a Dutton publication. Mrs. Altrocchi's writings have appeared also in *Harper's Magazine* and in the *Yale Review*.

Rev. Maynard Geiger was born in Lancaster, Pa., in 1901. In 1923 he became a Franciscan and was ordained a priest in June of 1929. The next eight years were spent in teaching Spanish, among other subjects, at St. Anthony's Seminary, Santa Barbara, and in advanced studies at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C., from which he received his Ph.D. degree in 1937. Since then he has been archivist at the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, besides serving as a member of the diocesan historical commission for the canonization of Father Junípero Serra. The latter work has taken him to Mexico, Spain, and Rome, in search of Serra's papers and documents on Serra's life. Father Geiger's published writings include *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618;* and a *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528-1841.*

A. E. Sokol is executive head of the department of Asiatic and Slavic studies at Stanford University. He was born in Vienna, at whose university he studied until coming to Stanford in 1929. Three years later, Stanford granted him the Ph.D. degree, and he continued there as professor of Germanic languages. The executive work, mentioned above, began in 1946.

"Anton Roman" is one in a series on nineteenth century American publishers prepared by Madeleine B. Stern. She is the author of *The Life of Margaret Fuller* (Dutton, 1942), and her biography of Louisa M. Alcott, written under a Guggenheim grant, is scheduled for publication early in 1950. Miss Stern is associated with the rare book firm of Leona Rostenberg at 152 East 179th Street, New York City.

For biographical notes on authors of continued articles in this issue, see index of the previous volume (XXVII) of the QUARTERLY.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Miss Nancy Anderson, whose forebears found in Colorado and Utah their farthest-west hopes for the future and stopped there, has, herself, pursued the trek the rest of the way to the coast. She graduated from the University of California in 1947, with special emphasis on journalism, and is at present, in off-hours from her work at Peck-Judah's travel bureau, occupied in editing the letters of Capt. Bradford R. Alden, written from Fort Jones in 1853, for publication shortly in this QUARTERLY.

A member of the Rancheros Visitadores who has known from boyhood about the species *Equus caballus*, Nat Davis has not only perfected his own stables but has given others the benefit of his knowledge by serving as horse-show announcer and as judge of breeding classes, horsemanship, et cetera. At present he is specializing in quarter horses. Mr. Davis, a native of Ohio, has been in California since 1916. His business interests have taken him into the field of credit management, along local (Los Angeles) and national lines.

Miss Carmel Riley's grandparents on both sides emigrated to California from across the Atlantic and settled in Grass Valley, Nevada County. From Inniskillen, northern Ireland, came Michael and Sarah Scales Riley, while the American Civil War was still in progress; and from Camborne, England, some ten years later, Samuel and Mary Alice Jones Tyrrell arrived in this state. Miss Riley's father, Peter Thomas Riley, a lawyer by profession, graduated from the University of California with the class of 1877—the third class, as a matter of fact, to take their diplomas on Berkeley soil. For several years Miss Riley has been assistant to the dean of the graduate division at the state university.

The Indians of California and the Aztecs in the vicinity of Mexico City are subjects of special interest to Fred H. Thieme, a student majoring in history at the University of California. One glance at recent weather statistics would convince even the most loyal among us that the Indians of the far west had no perpetual bed of roses for survival, and consequently research into their methods can never fail to be of importance.

From records beginning with the birth of John Wynne in Yorkshire, England, in 1635, William Watkin Winn (see Dec. 1948 list) has traced his ancestry through the intervening generations down to the arrival of John's great, great, great grandson, Col. (Mississippi Volunteers, Mexican War) Albert Maver Winn (b. Virginia, 1810, the eldest of nineteen children; d. Sonoma County, 1883) in San Francisco on May 28, 1849. At this point the records multiply, in keeping with the activities of the then-colonel as manufacturer of rockers for use in the placers, as first mayor of Sacramento, as brigadier general of militia, organizer of relief for distressed miners in 1849-50, first president of the California State Swamp Commission in 1861, and, in 1867-68, as initiator of the 8-hour day for men engaged in his former trade of carpentry. His efforts in their behalf won special recognition from Ira B. Cross in his *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1935), pp. 42, 56. General Winn, as he was usually called, devoted much enthusiasm to the formation of the Native Sons of the Golden West and is known as their founder. He also became the first president of the Sons of Revolutionary Sires at its organization in 1876. Some three years after the death of his wife, Catherine Gafney (or Gaffney), in 1862, he married the widow of James King of William. Winn Park at 28th and P streets in Sacramento is dedicated to his memory. General Winn's son, Adolphus ("Dolph") Gustavus Winn (b. Louisville, Ky., Sept. 8, 1832; d. Sacramento, Sept. 2, 1910), who, with the rest of the family, had joined his father in California in 1850, took up surveying and surveyed U. S. government land, Catholic Church properties, and, as a member of Theodore Judah's party, assisted in laying out the route of the Central Pacific Railroad. In 1862 he was engineer for Swamp Land District No. 31 (Brannan Island), the reclamation of which he handled. For various terms afterwards, beginning in 1866, A. G. Winn was elected surveyor of Sacramento County. In 1867, he married Agnes T. Hilsee (b. Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1848; d. Sacramento, July 16, 1936), the Society's new member being one of the six children born to the couple. His maternal grandfather, Joseph Warren Hilsee (b. Philadelphia, Mar. 17, 1820; d. Colusa, Nov. 4, 1870), was a master brick and stone mason, whose work in the construction of Fort Point in San Francisco and of the capitol at Sacramento revealed his superior craftsmanship, especially in the capitol's arches. William Watkin Winn (b. Sacramento, Mar. 4, 1874) is ex-class of 1896 at the University of California and has had a full life also. It has included lumbering in the sugar pine forests along the middle fork of the American River, and engineering work in the rehabilitation of the Southern Pacific Railroad, after its acquisition by E. H. Harriman. Upon his transfer to the Los Angeles division of the Southern Pacific in 1903, Mr. Winn's duties took him into the basin of the Colorado where it overflows into Salton Sea. From 1914 to 1924 he was employed in the engineering department of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad, serving throughout that road's highly diversified territory. By February 1924 he was back again with the Southern Pacific, first in Portland and, in 1933, in Los Angeles, engaged in field work in the construction of the Union Passenger Terminal. Mr. Winn retired in December 1939. Since then he has done important research into the history of the California Society of Sons of the American Revolution, 1876-1946. He is a member and former officer of the California Genealogical Society.

(A copy of Mr. Winn's carefully compiled history of his family, from which this sketch was derived, has been deposited with the Society.)

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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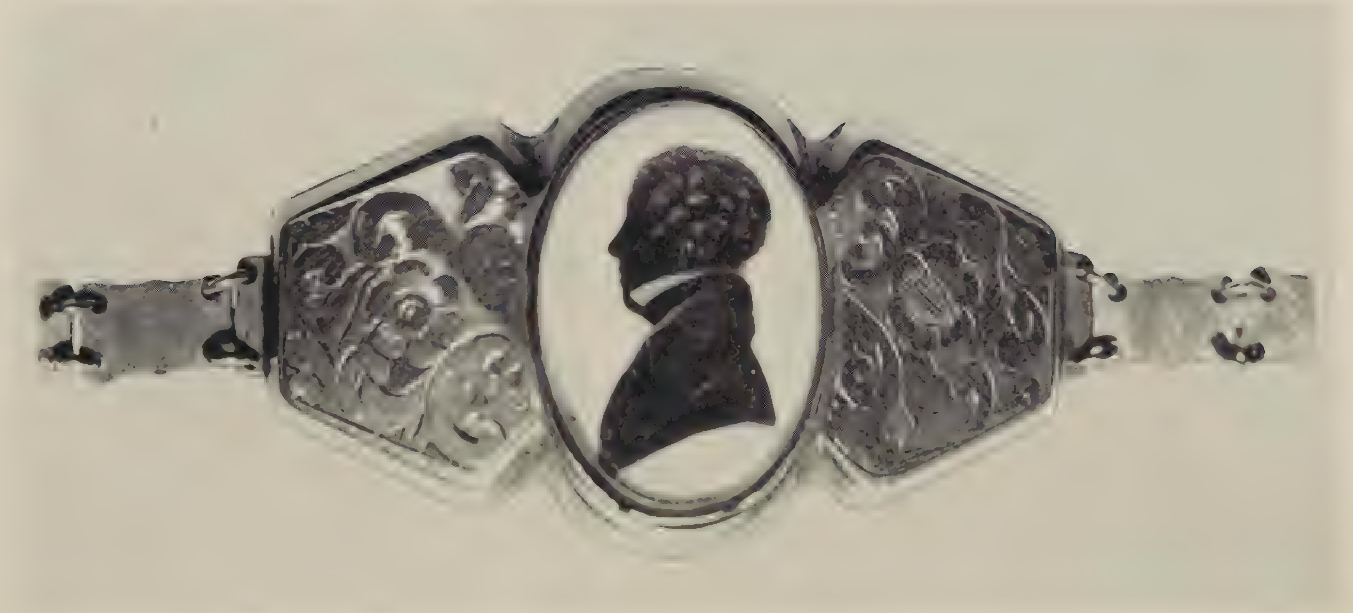

THE ONLY KNOWN LIKENESS OF W. G. RAE

Reproduced (about twice actual size) from a bracelet in the McLoughlin Memorial House, Oregon City, Oregon, through the courtesy of the Memorial Association

The Hudson's Bay Company in San Francisco

By Anson S. Blake

During the early years of the existence of Yerba Buena, little occurs worthy of notice. The place continued merely a village; and its history for some years subsequent to 1841, would be simply a record of the private business transactions of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose agents and people formed nearly the entire settlement. Even so lately as 1844, Yerba Buena contained only about a dozen houses, and its permanent population did not exceed fifty persons.[1]

THESE WORDS from the *Annals of San Francisco* were written in 1854, thirteen years after the arrival of the company's representative,[2] and by men who came in the gold rush of 1849. They apparently did not realize the amount of excitement and foreboding that the opening of the company's headquarters had occasioned in the minds of American residents in California and Honolulu. Bancroft quotes from two letters among Larkin's files indicating the views held shortly preceding the event. The first, dated August 31, 1840, is from Francis Johnson at Honolulu, where the Hudson's Bay Company had an agency. Johnson wrote that the company was planning to monopolize the trade in all the North Pacific; a vessel, building in England, was to bring a cargo of goods at very low prices. However, in his opinion, the Americans in Honolulu did not fear the competition.[3]

The second correspondent, Ethan Estabrook, a consular agent of the United States at Monterey, writing on January 29, 1841, felt differently:

> The H. B. Co. is playing the devil with the Cal cattle, if not with Cal. itself. They are preparing to purchase on a large scale. Capt. Humphrey [Charles Humphreys] informs me that they want at least 100,000 cattle and half a million of sheep if they can be had. McKay, the chief hunter, is to have a grant in the Tulares of about 30 miles square. This is destined to be the headquarters of their enterprise in the interior. About 120 hunters, well armed and disciplined, are now in the Tulares, and 40 or 50 came as passengers in the bark [the *Columbia*] and proceeded from Monterey to the Tulares, headed by McKay, to take possession of his new estate. This company is to be increased to any number that may be judged requisite for hunting, collecting cattle, etc. It is very easy for the govt of Cal. to admit these people within its limits; but will it be as easy to drive them out? *Pienso que no.* His excellency [Alvarado] has sold some thousand or two of cattle of his own and from the missions, etc. There is, however, quite an excitement above because he will not permit others to sell.[4]

The "grant in the Tulares" proved to be only a wild guess and the numbers of the trapping party much exaggerated. As to the problem of driving out the supposed-to-be menacing foreigners, the answer will be unfolded in this paper.

Hudson's Bay trappers had penetrated to California in the season of

1828-29, and from 1832 on they had trapped the Sacramento and its tributaries regularly; but the idea of an interior post had never been considered by McLoughlin, chief factor and chief of the Columbia District.[5] However, a post on San Francisco Bay began to be discussed after a very favorable report from Alexander Simpson, who had gone on the *Columbia* with a cargo of "wood" to Oahu and thence to California for a cargo of sheep in 1840.[6] Immediately, on the ship's arrival at Vancouver, and her discharge, she was reloaded for California, and this time James Douglas, second in command of the Columbia District, went on the expedition, taking goods suited for the trade and prepared to purchase sheep which were to be driven to Oregon overland.[7] Douglas was also charged with the duty of negotiating a modus vivendi with the California authorities, covering a possible mercantile establishment on San Francisco Bay and the licensing of their trapping parties, which were now bumping into Sutter's new establishment and his pretensions to jurisdiction.[8] On his return, Douglas reported to McLoughlin as follows:

> According to your instructions, I took the earliest occasion, of entering into communication with his excellency Governor Alvarado, touching the Honble. Company's contemplated commercial views in relation to California, and you will perceive by reference to the correspondence, vide No. 1 & 2, appended to this note, that the Provincial Government is pledged to support and lend every assistance in their power to the promotion of such views, provided we submit to the formalities required by the Laws of Mexico. That is to say, on these terms, the whole trade of the country will be thrown open to us; a free grant of land for the erection of warehouses with other privileges will be conceded to the Company in their own name and right, within the harbour of San Francisco. Parties of Beaver hunters may be introduced through the regular Port of Entry, who will receive Passports, and be licensed to hunt in all parts of the uncultivated frontier, every such person being compelled by the authorities to execute fully the conditions of their agreement with the Company.[9]

Douglas goes on to appraise the trade of California and rates the existing trade of San Francisco second to San Pedro and far above the other five shipping points.[10] He describes the methods of the American traders, indicates that the Company's representatives will have to learn the language and become accustomed to the peculiar manners of the people and the routine of business pursued in California before they can compete on even terms, but knows that the advantage of cheaper goods belongs to the Company.[11] He concludes as follows: "From the growing trade and importance of San Francisco, I consider it the most favourable point for a mercantile house."[12]

McLoughlin, on receipt of this confirmation of Alexander Simpson's report, seems to have decided, immediately, to open the San Francisco establishment at once. He chose, as the man to run it, his son-in-law, William Glen Rae.[13] In a letter dated May 24, 1841, and addressed to the governor, deputy governor and committee of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, London, is the following paragraph:

4. The *Cowelitz* proceeds with a cargo of Spars, Deals, Salmon, etc. to Oahu, she will there ship the California Outfit, proceed to that place, and from thence come here, and will then proceed, to Oahu with a cargo of timber or to the north west Coast as circumstances may require. Mr. W. G. Rae proceeds in the *Cowelitz* to take charge of our California business, I enclose you a Copy of our instructions to him.[14]

The foregoing quotations regarding the preliminary investigations and the start of the post at San Francisco are taken from the official correspondence of Chief Factor John McLoughlin, which, together with much related matter, was published by the Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society in 1941, 1943, and 1944. The series was edited by E. E. Rich, and an introduction to each volume was written by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, librarian of the University of British Columbia and formerly of the Provincial Archives at Victoria. These introductions are an admirable summary of the contents of the letters, and they are, besides, an invaluable guide to the understanding of the reader because of the writer's knowledge of, and wise selection from, the contemporary records of the company bearing on the events dealt with in the correspondence. Dr. Lamb's appraisal of the men and their actions seems eminently fair.

Like most Americans my knowledge of the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company and of William Glen Rae in San Francisco has been drawn from the writings of his American contemporaries in San Francisco, and from the various histories of California which drew their information largely from these same contemporaries. Although Bancroft has a statement from Robert Birnie (who came with Rae as a clerk but did not stay long in that capacity) and quotes frequently from original source material, including a reproduction of part of Sir George Simpson's map, he nevertheless uses more than once such phrases as ". . . I have no definite record" of the outcome of the particular matter under discussion.[15] This prods the curiosity of the reader; and when, in studying the Record Society's volumes, I happened to notice references to two letters of Rae's among the papers in the office of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, I wrote and asked if I might have photostatic copies of these letters. The company graciously agreed to furnish the photostats and gave the approximate cost. When the prints arrived, the company, in an accompanying letter, was so courteous as to advise me that five additional letters of Rae's were in their files. The first two had been a disappointment because one dealt with the situation at Stikine, antedating Rae's coming to California, and the other was only an acknowledgment of the receipt of his commission as chief trader.[16] However, I determined to have the remainder of the letters and the company kindly acquiesced once more. As a consequence, I am able to give you in Rae's own words the narrative of the founding of the post in Yerba Buena and an outline of the proposed method of operation. This and the following letters are reproduced by permission of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the transcriptions, no alterations in spelling or punctuation have been made.

San Francisco
Yerba Buena
14th Octbr. 1841

John McLoughlin Esquire

Dear Sir

I had the honor to address you on the 22d July, shortly after the departure of the Cowelitz from Woahoo for California, as I was aware Mr. [George] Pelly[17] had communicated to you the state of affairs there, I confined myself merely to reply to the instructions and memorandum received from you at Fort Vancouver.

2. We arrived at Monterey on the 10th August, when I was happy to find that the restriction[18] to Foreign Vessels trading on the Coast had been removed, and that after clearing at the Custom House we should be at liberty to proceed to any port on the Coast of California we chose. But though this difficulty was removed, I experienced another, which for a time seemed to be more serious, and occasioned several days detention; this arose from our having Cargo on board for Vancouver and the Missionaries[19] in the Willamette, which by the Mexican Laws ought to pay duty as well as that intended for Trading. to this I objected, and also to landing the Cargo for the Columbia, to be kept in the Custom house at Monterey till the Vessel intended to leave the Coast, when she would call for it. finally however matters were settled, and the ship Cleared having to pay no less than $10,965 duties, 7,460$ of which the Government inserted [insisted?] on being paid in Cash, an amount including C[hief]. F[actor]. Douglas Bills, far exceeding the means with which I was furnished, and I found myself situated, as by memo of 22d July to you I anticipated. I was consequently obliged to give a note of hand for $2,000 payable in 120 days, besides allowing a bill p. 1,100 on a/c Puget Sound Association, in favor D. Spence to go on at interest at 2 p. cent p. month.[20] In future I would recommend that no vessel touching here have any Cargo on board but what is intended for Trade in California except Salt which might pass, though not without remark.

3. We left Monterey on the 24th August and arrived here on the 27th, in consequence of Mr. Lease's [Leese's] absence it was the 9th September before I could make a purchase of his establishment which cost the H. B. Company 4600$ payable in Goods, at 50 p. cent on prime Cost, Mr. Lease being responsible for the duties.[21] This is more than he proposed selling it to Mr. Douglas for, by 600$ which Mr. Lease explains by stating, that he offered it to C. F. Douglas for $4000, in the firm belief that he would get the Goods landed at Bodega free of Custom House charges,[22] since that time also, he has laid out $100 for improvements, and even with this augmentation in price the sale is not so advantageous to him as it would have been at $4000 had he received the Goods free of duties, which is correct.

he does not seem inclined to forward an order to Vancouver for the amount, but would prefer taking it out here at different times, to which I acceded. I herewith forward you, attested Copies Title deeds, and every document connected with the transfer of J. P. Lease's property to the Hudson Bay Company which I hope you will find satisfactory.

4. This has been the most unfavourable season for California that the oldest inhabitant in it, recollects. Since Febry 1840 there has been little or no rain, and the consequence is a total failure of the Crops, the quantity sown not being reaped, in most cases a scarcity of Grass which has so much reduced the Cattle that the farmers are unwilling to kill them, as they would obtain only the hide. Wheat is at present selling at from 5 and 7$ p. Fanega, and flour at from 20 and 25 p. barrel of 200 lbs. Could the quantity I ask in the requisition now forwarded be sent here before the Crops of '42 are ripe it would command a ready sale.

5. In consequence of the total failure of the Crops as stated in foregoing paragraph, I have not been able to send you any wheat,[23] the Contracts made by C. F. Douglas were only conditional, and if they had been binding it is not in the power of the Farmers to fulfill them this Season. if the Crops in the Columbia have been likewise unfavorable I am afraid the Company will be awkwardly situated as regards their Contract[24] with the Russian American Fur Company at Valpariaso I believe wheat could be procured, but the Russians have tried to bring it from that quarter, and generally lost it, for the want of means to kiln dry the grain, before shipment.

6. The prospects of Trade on the Coast for the reasons already stated, are poor in the extreme, next season however, as there has been little or none killing this, the slaughter of Cattle will be greater than usual, when I have little doubt the Company will come in for a share of the Spoil.

7. If it be the Companys wish to drive a profitable business here, and put down competition, they must embark more extensively in the Trade than at present. besides this establishment, a vessel to run the different Ports on the Coast would be required, apart from a greater supply of goods, Cash to the amount of 20,000 or at 30,000$ annually, would be necessary, with this sum purchasing half in Cash & half in Goods, the trade ought almost entirely be engrossed, and the Company would in that case require to give little or no Credit which is a great consideration. this is what the Traders on the Coast most fear from the Hudson Bay Company, as it would draw the Hides and Tallow from even the Farmers who are indebted to them, whereas Goods alone would not. But it appears to me that purchasing hides for Cash, at four to 2$ each, which in England generally will realize 15/Sterling each, would be a profitable speculation, particularly when it is taken into consideration that in this way of dealing no Credit is given.

8. According to your instructions, I have got a Salting trough built, though at the same time I think this by no means a favorable situation for

that purpose, owing to the great prevalence of fogs here during the summer season, which prevents the hides from getting sufficiently dry, to be shipped for a long voyage. I am of course only giving you such information as I receive on this subject and it may be incorrect. we will therefore try this place, and in the event of not succeeding it will not be difficult to remove the salting Estabt to Sta Clara, where most of the hides are Collected, and where there is a Clear atmosphere.[25]

9. In my communication to you after leaving Woahoo I stated that it was impossible to procure Casks there for salting Beef,[26] and in business, in the manner recommended, I feel satisfied it will be but so much time and money thrown away. nevertheless I should have altered [adhered?] to your orders, had I not received particular request. Pedro Ristromtinoff [Kostromitinof] Governor of Bodega, by Alexander Rotcheff Esqre late Governor of that place, that as he had 400 Tierces already cured,[27] intended for Sitka, it would be quite unnecessary for the Hudson Bay Company, to prepare any more for that place at present, under these circumstances I have thought it most advisable, not to Salt till I hear further from you. Another reason is the low condition of the Cattle, the meat would be scarcely eatable, were it cured well, which I shall despair of succeeding in untill I receive for the purpose. I sincerely trust the course I have followed in this case will meet your approbation, though aware I have exposed myself to Censure by not following strictly the Instructions I received from you. I have taken out of the Cowelitz Cargo 350 barrels Salt for curing Beef and hides.

10. Alexander Rotcheff Esquire of the Russian American Fur Company, offered to dispose of 450 salted hides for Cash, or a Bill on England, the first I had not to give and therefore though not authorised took upon myself to purchase them at 1½$ each and have drawn on you for the sum of 675$ payable by a bill on England at 4/2 Stlg Exchange, equal 4/3 Sterling p. hide. Captain [William] Brotchie is directed to touch at Bodega on his way to the Columbia to receive them. I would have drawn on Mr. Pelly [see note 17 above] at Woahoo, but I have already been under the necessity of sending to him for $4000 to enable me to pay off Mr. Spence's Bill, which is bearing a high rate of Interest, and to meet my promissory Note of $2000 for the duties when it becomes due.

11. I omitted asking your permission to draw on London to a hundred extent annually. I now however beg that you will give me authority to do so, and inform me to what amount by the earliest opportunity as it might turn out not only advantageous but absolutely necessary.

12. I have endeavoured to make contracts for Wheat at the prices hitherto given by the Company viz. 1¾$ on the Farms or 2$ if delivered here but without effect, except in the instance of Governor Alvarado, who has promised to deliver 1000 fngs. from the Crops of '42, deliverable at Monterey 1st

September 1842, in liquidation of an Advance made him of $2000 at his particular request, which at that time I did not consider it political to refuse. The Farmers are at present suffering from a want of Grain, & are not desirous to make positive agreements.

13. On examining the a/c Sales now forwarded I have no doubt as far as prices are concerned they will generally give you satisfaction, indeed they are higher than any other vessel on the Coast. I will nevertheless continue them at this rate till I see or hear from you. My own opinion is that if you wish to drive an extensive business and put down competition, a reduction ought to be made, which with Cash and Goods together would give you the whole sweep of the Coast.[28]

14. Notwithstanding the unfavorable season after my arrival in Yerba Buena I found it necessary to employ Mr. Forbes[29] who really seems to feel much interest in the Company success in this quarter, and has been of great service to me from his knowledge of the language and acquaintance rather, the stability of the Resident as well as the laws of the Country. I have at present only a Verbal agreement with him that he will be paid at the rate of 5 p. cent as hitherto on his own Sales with which he seems satisfied.

15. I herewith also forward a requisition for this place every article of which that can be supplied from Vancouver or Woahoo ought to be here in May or by the 1st of June at latest but the earlier the better, and the rest ordered from England as mentioned in the Requisition. I would by no means recommend your countermanding the order for Cash in the Requisition for California for Outfit 1844 as it is absolutely required to carry on the business here.[30]

16. I endeavoured to get permission for the Company's Vessels on the homeward voyage to touch in here to embark hides, without going to Monterey but did not succeed.[31] Gov. Alvarado said it was not in his power to Grant such liberty without exposing himself to Censure.

17. There has been no less than 13 vessels on the Coast this year [see note 68 below]. the duties paid on Goods entered, amount to about $70,000 so that you may readily imagine the market is pretty well stocked. The Traders will sustain a serious loss as throughout California there will not be 40,000 hides collected this season.

18. I left with you a memorandum concerning the description of Craft I thought would be most suitable for the bay of San Francisco. on reperusal I see nothing that ought to be altered, except the rig which instead of Sloop, ought to be that of a Schooner. she ought not to draw more than from 3 to 4 feet Water. when loaded a small flat bottomed boat ought to accompany her, which would be most serviceable in reaching the shore often when the Launch could not. she ought to be here before the beginning of June '42 as we cannot get on without one.[32]

19. I was sorry to find on arrival at Monterey that all the thin Shoes for

this trade brought out p. Wave [a chartered schooner] were so rotten, I threw them overboard rather than forego the duties, and the stronger descriptions very much damaged which has obliged me to sell them lower than I would otherwise have done. The Cargo altogether was in a worse order than any I ever saw landed by the Company's Vessels in Vancouver [see note 65 below].

20. There is an American Trader here of the name of Teel [Teal] who wishes with many others to sell out.[33] he has got a very excellant assortment of Mexican Goods which we would require to complete ours to the amount of $8,000 he has frequently applied to me, but having no Authority I could not give him a decisive answer, until I saw or heard from you. He would prefer a Bill on England to Cash, and closing with him would put a Competition out of the way and supply us at a remunerating rate with merchandise, which cannot be procured in England & could be turned to advantage here have the Goodness to let me know your sentiments on this subject by earliest opportunity.

21. General Vallejo has a note of C[hief]. F[actor]. Douglas on a/c Puget Sound Association p. 838⅛$ distinctly expressed payable in Goods which he disputes saying that he understood he could get a Bill on England for that amount to which I will not consent, unless I receive orders to do so, as I think the General is trying to take an under advantage.[34] It will not however be good policy to quarrel with him. he is reported as being very difficult generally to deal with.

22. I forward p. Cowelitz to Vancouver some Glass, lops and steelyards as p. Invoice which are not very saleable here, and which were not entered at Monterey, on my assuring the Custom Officers they were intended for the Columbia.

23. In conclusion I have only to remark that whether my proceedings meet your approbation or not, my desire has been to promote the Company's Interest, and if I have failed in so doing it has arisen from a mistaken view, or because I do not fully understand the ulterior intentions of the Company regarding the trade in this Country.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Obedient humble Servant
[signed] William Glen Rae [rubric]

On reverse:
Copy
W. G. Rae
Y. Buena Octr. 12/41
Recd Jany 9/44
Read " 10th

While Rae was busy at Monterey with custom-house and other government officials, Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the company's territories in North America, had arrived at Fort Vancouver, where he had not been for twelve years. With characteristic energy he almost immediately began a tour,[35] in the company's steamer *Beaver*, of the posts to the northward along the coast, and of the narrow strip of Russian territory that the Hudson's Bay Company had recently leased from the Russian American Company.[36] From the northernmost post, the party proceeded to Sitka for a conference with the Russians.

On this journey Simpson came to the conclusion that the company could reduce its expenditures without sacrificing its trade by eliminating most of its trading stations.[37] He also took cognizance of a suggestion made earlier by Douglas that a new post on the southern end of Vancouver Island be established, where goods could be landed from London much closer to the point of use and without trans-shipment from Fort Vancouver.[38] On this trip Simpson saw that from such a post the steamer *Beaver* could have an inside passage all the way to the upper end of the Russian lease and could be made a floating emporium to replace the posts. Probably he also had in mind that the United States boundary question could not be settled at a line south of the Columbia, and might be run north of that river.[39] It therefore was wise to be prepared with a post to replace Fort Vancouver. Such a post would eliminate the very hazardous navigation of the Columbia River bar, where several company vessels had been lost and where they were often bar-bound for weeks together.[40]

These statements may seem to have little bearing on Rae and the Hudson's Bay Company establishment in San Francisco; but the foregoing determinations ran counter to the views of McLoughlin as to the proper conduct of the business and were vigorously opposed by him. The disagreement between the two men later attained almost feud proportions and the San Francisco establishment became involved.[41]

Simpson did not stay long at Fort Vancouver after his return from the northern trip. He soon boarded the company bark *Cowlitz*, in company with John McLoughlin and other company officials, Horatio Hale of the United States Exploring Expedition, M. Duflôt de Mofras, and Mrs. Rae (the daughter of McLoughlin) and her children, and sailed for San Francisco, whence he was to go to Honolulu and Sitka and back to London across Siberia. He has left a two volume account of the journey, published under the title *Narrative of a Journey Round the World*.[42]

(To be concluded)

NOTES

(In these notes, *idem* indicates same work, same vol. as in preceding reference; *ibid.*, same work and vol. as shown.)

1. Frank Soulé, John Gihon and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 173.

2. This was in Aug. 1841. "Not only," says Bancroft in a summary for that year, "did

the Russian American Company depart, but the English Hudson's Bay Company came in its stead to effect a permanent establishment, to continue hunting operations . . . and, as many feared, to monopolize the California trade." *(History of California,* San Francisco, 1884-90, IV, 190.)

3. *Idem,* p. 211, n. 12.

4. *Idem,* p. 214, n. 18. As to a grant of land, see James Douglas (after conference with Gov. J. B. Alvarado) to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841, in *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . .* , hereinafter called *Letters* (London, 1941-44), II, 252, quoted later in this paper. See also George Simpson to John H. Pelly, March 10, 1842, in "Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843," *American Hist. Rev.*, XIV (Oct. 1908), 89, where the people of California are said to be "willing to place themselves and their country at the disposal of Great Britain."

5. The expeditions after 1824 are listed in Herbert E. Bolton's introduction to Alice Bay Maloney, *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura, John Work's California Expedition, 1832-33* (this Society, Sp. Publ. 19, 1935), p. v. For an account of Dr. John McLoughlin's life (b. Rivière-du-Loup, St. Lawrence River, Oct. 19, 1784; d. Oregon City, Sept. 3, 1857) and services to the Hudson's Bay Company, hereinafter called H. B. Co., see Dr. Lamb's introductions to the *Letters,* I, xxix ff; II, xi-xlix; and III, xi-lxiii. McLoughlin became an American citizen in May 1849.

6. McLoughlin to the Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee, Honorable Hudson's Bay Co., hereinafter called Gov. *et. al,* May 23, 1840, *Letters,* II, 8; and same to same, Nov. 20, 1840, *idem,* p. 20. Alexander Simpson's report to McLoughlin on this subject (dated Oct. 1, 1840) may be found in *idem,* p. 244: ". . . In this Port [San Francisco] more than half the exports of Calefornia [*sic,* here and frequently elsewhere] are collected and as yet only one small retail Shop is established there, the Trade being carried on by vessels . . ." Alexander Simpson was a first cousin of George Simpson and a brother of the Arctic explorer Thomas Simpson. (*Idem,* p. 404-406, biog. sketch.)

7. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al,* Nov. 20, 1840 (*Letters,* II, 28); also, Douglas to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841 (*idem,* p. 256), where the prices paid are said to have been $5 and $6 a head for 661 cows, and $2 a head for 3670 ewes, payable in equal amounts of goods and cash. A biog. sketch of James Douglas (b. British Guiana (?), June 5 (?), 1803; d. Victoria, British Columbia, Aug. 2, 1877) is given in the *Letters,* III, 309-14. Both McLoughlin and Douglas were in the service of the North West Company before its coalition with the H. B. Co. in 1821. Douglas became governor of British Columbia in 1858 and was created Knight Commander of the Bath upon the expiration of his term in 1863. Appreciation of Douglas' character is shown by Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 212-13, n. 13.

8. See Alexander Simpson to McLoughlin, Oct. 1, 1840 (*Letters,* II, 240-41), in which Simpson states that Sutter had told him he had "obtained from the Civil Government a right to exclude all Trapping Parties"; that he had been named for that purpose Alcalde of the Frontier. Simpson adds, however, that "his appointment is not acknowledged by the Military Commandant and he avowed to me that he had neither the will nor the power to interfere with our trapping Party."

9. Excerpt from Douglas to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841, *Letters,* II, 252.

10. *Idem,* p. 253. The other shipping points were Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, San Diego, San Luis Mission-La Purissima.

11. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 215-16, quotes from Douglas, "Voyage from the Columbia to California, 1840-1" (MS in Bancroft Library), on the requirements for a permanent trading-post in California.

12. Douglas to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841, *Letters,* II, 255.

13. William Glen Rae (b. Stromness, Orkney, c. 1809; d. San Francisco, Jan. 19, 1845)

began service with the H. B. Co. in 1827. Though handicapped by the loss of sight in one eye through an accident during the 1827-28 season, he was considered "a rising man in the country," and by 1840 we find him in charge of Stikine after its acquisition by his company from the Russian American Co. The next year came his appointment to San Francisco, which he had already visited in the late summer of 1837 as supercargo of the *Cadboro* with "an adventure of goods for the Calefornia market." (Douglas to George Simpson, March 18, 1838, *Letters*, I, 278.) Rae's wife was Eloisa, the second daughter of John McLoughlin, whom he married in 1838. A biog. sketch of Rae appears in *Letters*, I, 353-54. As to Rae's appearance, McLoughlin, in speaking of the rough character of the personnel at Stikine, declared that his (McLoughlin's) son and Rae, "being stout men," were considered able to manage them (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 31, 1842, *ibid*., II, 88). Thomas O. Larkin (*Alta California*, Aug. 27, 1854) described Rae as having been "of large size, robust and healthy." However, it will be seen that in his letter of Nov. 1, 1842, transcribed later in this paper, he speaks of being "so long confined in bed." William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 116, 119, remembered Rae as "tall and handsome, and much of a gentleman . . . His table was always finely supplied with the best of everything. . . . He and Spear were the chief entertainers."

14. Quotation from McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, May 24, 1841 (*Letters*, II, 35). Since 1835, timber had always been kept ready for the Honolulu trade when a vessel should be available. (Same to same, Oct. 31, 1837, *ibid*., I, 204.) At the time of this letter 200,000 ft. of sawn wood were on hand. "Deals" are planks; standard size, 2½ in. thick, 11 in. broad, 12 ft. long. For the beginnings of the trade in salted salmon from the Columbia in 1827, see *ibid*., I, lxxiii. The barque *Cowlitz*, built in 1840, was of the same class and dimensions as the *Columbia* and the *Vancouver*. (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, May 24, 1841, *ibid*., II, 35, n. 2.)

15. Bancroft, *op. cit*., IV, 214. For Birnie's statement, see *idem*, p. 217, n. 23. Birnie was sent with Rae by McLoughlin, but George Simpson discharged him, preferring Montrose McGillivray, whom McLoughlin considered dissipated. (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, July 19, 1845, *Letters*, III, 79-80.) A section of Simpson's map and quotations from his book (see note 17 below) may be found in Bancroft, *op. cit*., IV, 218-22; and quotations from James Douglas' journal of his voyage (see note 11 above) occur between pp. 211-14.

16. Rae's appointment to a "commission in the Service," dated Dec. 1, 1841, is acknowledged by him from Yerba Buena to William Smith (sec'y of the H. B. Co., London) on Nov. 1, 1842; the news of the appointment had reached him on Oct. 29, 1842.

17. George Pelly was a cousin of Sir John Henry Pelly (first baronet, and governor of the company, 1822-52). *Letters*, II, 401. In his letter to the Gov. *et al*, Oct. 24, 1839, *idem*, p. 4, McLoughlin speaks well of George Pelly's management of the H. B. Co.'s business in Oahu; and he instructed Rae to draw on Pelly & Allan (see note 79 below) when he needed funds "to keep the business agoing" (*idem*, p. 57, par. 79). Sir George Simpson in his *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842* (London: Henry Colburn, 1847; also called *An Overland Journey Round the World* . . ., Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, same year; citations in this paper are to *Narrative*, London ed.), I, 433, mentions a visit he paid to Pelly in Hawaii.

18. For Alvarado's restrictions on shipping, see Bancroft, *op. cit*., IV, 206 ff; also, James Douglas to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 18, 1838, *Letters*, I, 249-51; and same to same, Oct. 14, 1839, where Douglas speaks of "despair of ever succeeding by the plain and direct course . . . and as a last resource I now intend to try the expedient adopted by the Russians settled at Bodega, who sail their vessels under cover of licences taken out in the name of

a citizen. . . ." (*Letters,* II, 206.) See likewise Douglas to Mc Loughlin, March 23, 1841, *idem,* 251-53.

19. For the missionaries and the sites of their establishments in the Columbia District, see McLoughlin to Gov. *et al,* Dec. 4, 1843, *Letters,* II, 191. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 550, points out that "The Hudson's Bay Company's charter required of it the encouragement of missionary effort."

20. The Puget's Sound Agricultural Co. (capital stock 2000 shares of £100 each), which was under the protection and auspices of the H. B. Co. although legally separate, was founded in Feb. 1839 to meet the problem of furnishing wheat, flour, beef, etc., in fulfillment of the H. B. Co.'s obligation to the Russian American Co. (*Letters,* III, xiii, xvii). See McLoughlin to Gov. *et al,* Nov. 20, 1840, *Letters,* II, 16, continuation of note 2, for its history and its dissolution in 1934; and Simpson to Gov. *et al,* Nov. 25, 1841, in *American Hist. Rev., op. cit.,* 78, for description of site of its "principal tillage farm." See also Bancroft, *Northwest Coast, op. cit.,* II, 618-19.

David Spence of Monterey, secretly a supporter of Alvarado, served as interpreter for James Douglas; he is said to have exerted quietly much influence in municipal and legislative matters. Bancroft. *Hist. of California, op. cit.,* IV, 212. Simpson in his letter to McLoughlin, March 1, 1842, quoted later, calls Spence one of the "very few other respectable people in that quarter [California]. . . ."

21. See Bancroft, *op. cit.,* IV, 710, for Leese's erection of a store on the beach at Yerba Buena in 1837, at first in partnership with Spear and Hinckley (see note 84 below). Leese's wife was Rosalia, sister of Gen. M. G. Vallejo. Thomas P. Burns, "The History of a Montgomery Street Lot . . .", this QUARTERLY, XI (March 1932), pp. 69-71, includes transcription of a letter, dated Dec. 6, 1843, from Rae to Gov. Manuel Micheltorena, asking permission to keep the "fabrick" (hide house) and fence he (Rae) had built on land in excess of his original purchase from Leese (Lot N. 1). The upshot was that, through the intercession of Hinckley (see note 84 below), alcalde at that time, Rae secured 8 varas (22 ft.) of Montgomery St. frontage @ 9 cts a ft. Bancroft, *idem,* 667-68, quotes from the "Journal of Henry A. Peirce," entry for Nov. 30, 1841, in which Rae's purchase is called the best of the "not more than half a dozen houses. . . . It is built of wood, shingled, etc., and of the old-fashioned Dutch form." (See note 72 below, where Peirce, spelled by McLoughlin "Pierce," is quoted as a member of the firm of Peirce & Brewer, Honolulu merchants.) Thomas O. Larkin (*Alta California,* Aug. 27, 1854) called it "the first two-story wooden house in this city." Mrs. Rae (quoted by Bancroft, *op. cit.,* IV, 668) speaks of its length and the arrangement of the rooms.

Leese's absence, which Rae says delayed the purchase of his house, may be accounted for by the fact that in 1841 Leese was grantee of Huichica at Sonoma, where he went to live and do business. (Bancroft, *idem,* p. 217.)

22. Bodega was a free port belonging to Russia, and goods entered there were, supposedly, free of custom-house charges; Josiah Spalding, master of the American ship *Lausanne,* found otherwise. (Bancroft, *op. cit.,* IV, 171-72.) For the sale of Fort Ross, see note 27 below.

23. McLoughlin informed the Gov. *et al* on May 24, 1841, that he had given instructions to Rae to purchase wheat in California, to serve "as a reserve in case of need, and besides if the usual high prices of Flour in California continue, of two dollars p. aroba say 26 English lbs. (they have no water mills, and their horse mills are of the most rude Construction) we will grind the wheat into Flour, and export it for sale to California" (*Letters,* II, 38). The "precarious" nature of the California wheat supply was noted by the governor of Sitka in 1836 when he expressed his desire to get 4-5000 bushels from the Columbia District, delivered at Fort Simpson, at 2¼ to 2½ dollars p. fanega of 140 lbs. (Duncan Finlayson to McLoughlin, Sept. 29, 1836, *Letters,* I, 333.)

24. On Feb. 6, 1839, Sir George Simpson made a contract with the Russian American Co., through Baron Ferdinand Wrangell, at Hamburgh, whereby the H. B. Co. was to provide the Russian company annually for 10 years with certain agricultural products (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Nov. 20, 1840, *Letters*, II, 25, n. 3; also, same to same, June 24, 1842, explaining supplement to contract, *idem*, p. 54, n. 2; and Simpson's *Narrative*, I, 270). In his letter to McLoughlin dated March 3, 1842, Simpson said that all demands upon the H. B .Co. for grain (see note 20 above) should be met in the Columbia area "without rendering it necessary to go to California for supplies. . . ." (*Letters*, II, 278.) On Nov. 15, 1843, we find McLoughlin writing to the Gov. *et al* that although Willamette wheat was more expensive (4s. 6d. per imperial bushel), it was superior to California wheat (3s. 9p.), because the latter was "neither so clean nor so heavy. . . ." (*Idem*, pp. 124-25.) Douglas had brought McLoughlin a sample of California wheat which was "Extremely Dirty" (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, June 24, 1842, *idem*, p. 55). Two bushels of wheat were said to be equal to a fanega, and by the contract with the Russians, a fanega was to weigh 126 lbs. (McLoughlin to Sir George, March 7, 1841, *idem*, p. 260.) Foreseeing the difficulties of exact measurement, Douglas observed in his journal in the winter of 1840-41, that "we should also have 400 bags of twilled sacking holding exactly a fanega when tied, as the country people have no means of transporting grain from their farms to the store." (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 216.)

25. For the "duties of hide-curing," see R. H. Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: F. M. Lupton, [1840]), pp. 142-44. Sir George Simpson quotes this passage in his *Narrative*, I, 291-92. Unalloyed sunshine and salt water were irreduceable ingredients, the sea-water being reinforced with quantities of salt. The busiest time of the trade in California was from the latter part of June to mid-September, according to Alexander Simpson, writing to McLoughlin, Oct. 1, 1840 (*Letters*, II, 243). During those months, obviously, Santa Clara would be superior, in respect to absence of fog, to Yerba Buena, which George Simpson found "least adapted in point of situation and climate for an Establishment" (Simpson to McLoughlin, March 3, 1842, quoted later in this paper.) Douglas was so delighted with the Salinas and Santa Clara valleys, on his way from Monterey to San Francisco, that he had pronounced California "a country in many respects unrivaled by any other part of the globe." (Bancroft, quoting Douglas, *op. cit.*, IV, 212).

As to the H. B. Co.'s salt requirements, McLoughlin advised the Gov. *et al* on Oct. 6, 1825, that one of the company's vessels should take on at the Sandwich Islands as much salt "as she could carry"; salt made in the Columbia District would be more expensive (*Letters*, I, 20-21). The next year, he recommended the exchange of 40 or 50 barrels of Columbia Salmon at Monterey "for all the Salt we want . . ." (same to same, Sept. 1, 1826, *idem*, p. 37). It was brought also from England (same to same, Sept. 30, 1835, *idem*, p. 139).

26. The lack of casks had been remarked upon the year before by Alexander Simpson, who wrote to McLoughlin on Oct. 1, 1840, from Oahu about "the impossibility of procuring there Casks for Beef [;] the like impossibility existed both at Monterey and San Francisco. . . ." To this, he said, was added the scarcity of labor in California (*Letters*, II, 238). By March 1, 1842, barrel staves were being collected "at the Willamette falls and other parts of that Settlement," in such quantity as to be noted by George Simpson in his letter of that date to McLoughlin, from which fact Sir George had inferred that the Americans there were going actively into the salmon-curing business (*idem*, p. 265).

On the subject of curing meat, complaints about its "unsound state" prompted the Gov. *et al* to write to McLoughlin on Dec. 21, 1842, a year after Rae's communication transcribed here, that they would "endeavor to send by the next ship . . . a person acquainted with the mode of curing meat for exportation . . ." (*Letters*, II, 299). The packing of salmon had been unsatisfactory, also; according to Sir George the casks "appear weak and badly coopered, so that the fish is injured by the loss of brine" (Simpson to McLoughlin, March 1, 1842, *idem*, p. 265).

27. Tierce (literally, a third part) is a cask intermediate in size between a barrel and a hogshead. Some three years after Rae made this referenc to the supplying of beef to Sitka, McLoughlin wrote to the Gov. *et al* that the barque *Columbia* was scheduled to deliver 100 tierces there on her first voyage of that year (July 4, 1844, *Letters*, II, 197)

Peter Kostromitenof was manager of Bodega and Fort Ross for the Russian American Co., 1829-36, and agent in 1840-41 in settling up the Russian business in California. Alexander Rotchef, who succeeded Kostromitenof as manager during 1836-41, negotiated for the sale of the Russian property, the land excepted, to Sutter, formal signatures being affixed on Dec. 13. Through his purchase, Sutter obligated himself to furnish the Russians with annual installments of wheat, delivered at San Francisco, free of duties and tonnage. (Bancroft, *op cit.*, IV, 163-64, 179-80, 233, 703; see also Simpson's *Narrative*, I, 268-70.) Simpson wrote to the Gov. *et al* on Nov. 25, 1841, detailing the reasons for not purchasing the property for the H. B. Co. (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, *op. cit.*, p. 77); on March 10, 1842, he wrote to Pelly that the sale of this property to Sutter "was effected previously to my arrival, otherwise it is probable I should have made a purchase of the establishment for the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to the possibility of some claim being based thereon by Great Britain at a future period" (*idem*, p. 88).

28. The year before, Alexander Simpson in his letter of Oct. 1, 1840, to McLoughlin, recommending "an Establishment in the Port of San Francisco," had said: "A strong desire is expressed by all, except those engaged in the Trade, that the company or some other Body of Weight and respectability should engage in the Commerce on the Coast and thus reduce the present exorbitant price of Goods." He recommended an outfit of about £4000, consisting chiefly of cottons, which would occupy but little space in the ships from England. (*Letters*, II, 243-44.)

29. Simpson in his *Narrative*, I, 304, spoke of Forbes as ". . . living near the mission of San Jose de Guadalupe, and acting, in that neighborhood, as an agent of The Hudson's Bay Company, to whom we were much indebted during our stay, not only for his general politeness, but also for his special assistance as interpreter." Forbes, a Scotsman, had come to San Francisco from South America, in 1830 or '31. He married the daughter of Juan C. Galindo (grantee and claimant of San Jose Mission land), and at the time of his marriage in 1834 was 27 years old. Forbes assumed the office of British vice-consul in Oct. 1843 (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 743).

30. Six months previously, Douglas had written to McLoughlin (March 23, 1841) giving the price of produce, "which has from time immemorial remained fixed at 2 Dollars in Goods or 1½ in Cash, for Hides, & 1½ Dollars in Goods pr. Arroba of 26 lbs. of Tallow" (*Letters*, II, 254). Sir George Simpson, writing on March 1, 1842, with respect to the California business, stated that he "must put an unqualified negative on the drawing of funds for cash purchases . . ." (*idem*, 267). This restated Alex. Simpson's advice in his letter to McLoughlin dated Oct. 1, 1840, that in future "all Bills drawn on our vessels should be expressed 'payable in Goods' . . ." (*idem*, p. 239).

31. Governor Alvarado's order, directing foreign vessels to discharge their cargoes and pay duties at Monterey, was issued in Jan. 1841, with the object of prohibiting the coasting trade. Douglas, upon his arrival at Monterey, Jan. 1 of that year, remonstrated the law's application at that early date, and succeeded in getting his cargo entered under the former custom-house regulations (Douglas to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841, *Letters*, II, 251-52). Bancroft (*op. cit.*, IV, 207) relates that in July of that year the Boston ship *Tasso* and a schooner, on the point of departing from Monterey when they heard the

restrictive edict, brought the government to terms at the thought of the loss of $20,000 in duties.

32. Among his recommendations for the San Francisco post, previously cited, Alexander Simpson had mentioned the need of "a couple of Launches or Lighters . . . which would more than cover the expense of the Establishment" (*Letters*, II, 244). By his opposition to providing Rae with a craft of some kind, George Simpson laid himself open to McLoughlin's charge to the Gov. *et al* on Nov. 15, 1843, that because of "not having had a vessel to run along the Coast, the business at San Francisco has not had a fair trial" (*idem*, p. 122). It might be pointed out that private operators like Nathan Spear used two lighters in connection with their business.

33. Hiram Teal was a New Englander who brought a stock of goods from Mazatlan and kept a store in San Francisco, 1841-43. He was associated with Rufus Titcomb, another New Englander. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 744, 748.)

34. Two years, to the day, before Rae wrote this letter to McLoughlin, Douglas had reported to the Gov. *et al* concerning "the capricious enmity of General Vallejo" in connection with Laframboise's party of trappers (*Letters*, II, 219). Douglas' note, which Rae says Vallejo exhibited, was evidently in payment of the general's share in the contracts entered into by Alexander Simpson and which the latter handed to McLoughlin in his letter of Oct. 1, 1840 (*idem*, 238-39); they were "payable in Goods, and deliverable at the Port of San Francisco." See note 20, above, for the Puget's Sound Association.

35. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative*, I, 173 ff. He was gone from London 19 months, 26 days.

36. This strip of territory, called descriptively the lisière, was a 30-mile border of the continental shore from Portland Inlet to Cape Spencer at the northwest point of the entrance to Icy Strait or Cross Sound. George Davidson, *The Alaska Boundary* (San Francisco: Alaska Packers Assoc., 1903), pp. 93, 108. It extended a distance of about 350 miles (*Letters*, II, xii). For the major provisions of the lease of the lisière, see *Letters*, II, 25, note 3; and 27, notes 1, 2.

37. Fort Simpson (now Port Simpson, 54.25 N, 130.10 W, and established first by Peter S. Ogden on the Nass River in 1831) was alone excepted from the proposed closing of all the H. B. Co. posts in the north (*Letters*, II, xv).

38. Douglas' report on a post at the southern end of Vancouver Island was transmitted by McLoughlin to the Gov. *et al* in his letter dated Oct. 31, 1842 (*Letters*, II, 80).

39. For the chronological particulars of the "Oregon Question," leading to the signing of the boundary treaty between Great Britain and the United States—by the President on June 18, 1846, and the Queen on July 17 of that year—see Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, *op. cit.*, II, chapters xv-xvii.

40. Examples of the loss of ships on the Columbia bar were the U. S. sloop of war *Peacock* on July 17, 1841 (*Letters*, II, 41); and the barque *Vancouver* on May 7, 1848 (*idem*, p. 141, n. 1).

41. McLoughlin's objections to the plan of abandoning the H. B. Co.'s northern posts are given in his letter to the Gov. *et al*, Oct. 31, 1842 (*Letters*, II, 70-71). They reinforce his previously expressed opinion to same (May 24, 1841, *idem*, p. 39), where Douglas is said to have recommended in Oct. 1840 a new post on the northern end of Vancouver Island; and in which McLoughlin advances his own idea of an intercommunicating sailing ship instead of the more expensively operated and unreliable steamer. Dr. Lamb's comments on the question may be found, *idem*, p. xlviii.

As to their disagreement over the California post: Aside from the excerpts given later in this paper, one instance of the feud-like character of their differences is mentioned by Dr. Lamb wherein Simpson asked McLoughlin to hand him "a copy of any instructions you may have received from me . . . in reference to the formation of that establishment." This, says Dr. Lamb, as Simpson well knew, McLoughlin could not do (*Letters*, III, xxv). There is also McLoughlin's reminder to the Gov. *et al*, Nov. 18, 1843, "that it was Sir George Simpson who proposed the Outfit to Calefornia, I immediately objected, as I foresaw we would not be allowed, to carry it on, as it ought to be; . . . we begin a thing one day, it is hardly begun, but it is dropped . . ." (*Letters*, II, 173).

42. Bibliographical data on Simpson's book are given in note 17 above. In his party upon leaving London were his secretary, Mr. Hopkins, and four or five gentlemen connected with the H. B. Co., and a gentleman in the service of the Russian American Co., en route from St. Petersburg to Sitka. See his Vol. I, 253, for names of persons accompanying him to San Francisco.

Larkin to Atherton

Edited by A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.*

F. D. Atherton[1] Esq — Monterey Oct. 21. 1848
Dear Friend

Its rather to long since I had a letter from you, supposing there are *Some* on the way. I shall now write a short letter—I am aquainted with a Mr Bordon, in San F. Supercargo of the J. R. S.[2] [undecipherable] last summer made a fine Voyage via S. F. next month he expects a larger Cargo, if it comes as he expect I believe the owners will make 100,000$. I have twice given you an a/c of the Sacramento Placer.[3] its now known 300 to 400 miles long, 100 or more wide. I have been there twice. at stoping places to eat & refresh horses, on the branches of the San Jouqine,[4] I have [seen] some of my companions—step to the river, pick up a pan of sand and wash out the gold, yet no one had ever been there before. Very many Mechanics, Laboures clerks Etc, since last May, have by diging—or trading with the wild Indians made 1000 to 10 000$. I have seen a Californian with a 20 oz ps [piece?]—heard of a ps of 16 pounds. Mellus & Howard got in the old H.B.Co. House in Yerba Buena the start of the trade,[5] put up a large establishment at Sutter Fort, and small ones at the different "diggings." I really believe from last June to next June, they make *over* 100,000$. in 4 months at Sutter they sold 120 000$ last month Howard bot 100 000$ Mellus took home 2000 oz. to Boston via Callio & Val. almost every merchant in Y. B. is making largly—

living in Mont. Mr Green, times of 3 year being out in my store,[6] has prevented me from taking hold of the new state of affairs have done something, by going twice myself to the Placer like half of all who goes there came home with the fever am yet weak my hand much so. in 46, I gave M. G. Vallejo 6 or 700$ for the 50 vara lot[7] joining Spear, last month Mellus Howard and one other man, gave me 10 000$ in gold at 16$ troy oz say 512½ oz—I am offered the same for 50 varas opposite—5 million will be under our yearly export of gold dust. a quantity goes next month via Val. in the Lexington[8] to N Y I ship 7 to 8000$. if you have not already seen it ask Purser [Joseph] Wilson to show it to you

Your Brother[9] last summer went to Mazatlan in charge of a Cargo of lumber for sale. has not returned. when he does he will at the North have every chance to make Money— in Mont. I thought him unsteady. for a year back I understand he has not been. Every time I saw him at C. L. Ross[10] store a clerk, he appeared attentive being very much in M. with Scott,

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*Original letter, transcribed here verbatim, is in the collection of Larkin Material belonging to Dr. Leonard.

I think done him no good.[11] Not many of the old Foreign Residents have taken hold of the Placer business as yet, having old business to attend to. do you get your News paper[12]

Yrs tired down etc
[SIGNED] Thomas O. Larkin [rubric]

on verso:
F. D. Atherton Esq.
Loring & Co –
Valpariso
[undecipherable]
via Payta

NOTES

1. Several letters written by Faxon Dean Atherton (a native of Massachusetts, as was Larkin) to Larkin are among the "Larkin Documents for the History of California" at the Bancroft Library. Atherton's letters are explicit in reporting trade possibilities between Chile and California as well as shrewd in comments on politics. See especially Vol. V of these documents, No. 11 (Feb. 5, 1847); VI, No. 173 (Sept. 10, 1848); and *idem*, No. 183 (Sept. 22, 1848). A biographical sketch of Atherton is given by Bancroft in his *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), II, 704. Atherton also had something to say about the lack of letters from Larkin; but in one instance at least there was some other excuse besides Larkin's being too busy. On Sept. 10, 1848, he wrote Larkin: Your favour of August 14th 1847 was only received July 6th 1848 having been wrecked on Christmas Island. . . ."

2. In his letter of Sept. 10, 1848, referred to above, Atherton said: "The Gold dust received per Brig J. R. S. sold for 22 reals . . . being nearly 17$ 50 per ounce. . . ." Bordon may be Borden, master of the American ship *Bowditch* from Rhode Island, at San Francisco in Sept. 1847. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 576.)

3. See "Larkin to His Sons," this QUARTERLY, XXVII (Dec. 1948), 298-99, for his description of "the Sacramento Placer."

4. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 367-77 (incl. map) describes the gold finds along the San Joaquin tributaries. Limit of exploration southward in the year of Larkin's letter was the Tuolumne River, reached that August. Hallidie, inventor of the cable car, was looking for gold on Kern River as late as 1853, but with no success. (Edgar M. Kahn, "Andrew S. Hallidie as Writer and Speaker," this QUARTERLY, XXV, March 1946, 1-2.)

5. See Anson S. Blake, "The Hudson's Bay Company in San Francisco," in the present issue of this QUARTERLY.

6. In "Larkin Documents," IV, No. 1 (Jan. 1, 1846) is a copy of the agreement between Larkin and Talbot H. Green, whereby Larkin "puts into the charge and possession of said Green his Store and Warehouses, for three years – from this date, and a Capital of Ten Thousand dollars in goods and provisions at Cost prices. . . ." Witnesses were A. B. Thompson and W. F. P. Hartnell.

7. This lot was probably in Block 24, bounded by Montgomery, Washington, Kearny, and Clay. Bancroft (*op. cit.*, V, 681, map on p. 677) says: "The Vallejo lot next north [cor. Montgomery and Washington] was purchased by Larkin, and had no building till after '48. . . ." The reference to Vallejo is, however, to Juan A. Vallejo.

8. The *Lexington*, a U. S. transport, brought Co. F, 3d artillery, to California during the Mexican War and anchored at Monterey on Jan. 28, 1847. She did service up and down the coast during that and the following year. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 514, 519.)

9. This was Robert Atherton, mentioned frequently in F. D. Atherton's correspondence with Larkin. On May 9, 1847, he asked Larkin, "Have the goodness to do what

you can for my brother Robert should he be in Monterey." ("Larkin Documents," V, No. 37.) And in his letter to Larkin of Sept. 10, 1848, cited above, he had said: "I am greatly obliged for your attention to my Brother. . . ."

10. Charles L. Ross, at first agent or perhaps partner of Gelston & Co., built his "New York store" on the northwest corner of Washington and Montgomery in 1847 and was still occupying it at the time of Larkin's letter. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 683; also Ross' "Biography," MS in H. H. Bancroft's handwriting, Bancroft Library.)

11. This was "Don Diego Scott," of whom Atherton says on Sept. 22, 1848: "I am likewise informed that D Diego Scott has got into some difficulty with the American authorities in Santa Barbara. . . ." ("Larkin Documents," VI, No. 183.) See also *ibid.*, V, No. 37 (May 9, 1847), where he says that he had received letters from his brother and from Scott telling of Larkin's imprisonment during the Mexican War. James Scott and Capt. John Wilson were in partnership in Santa Barbara when Sir George Simpson visited there, as described elsewhere in this issue of the QUARTERLY.

12. As Larkin's letter, here transcribed, is dated Oct. 31, 1848, his reference to "News paper" is probably to the *Californian* which was issued regularly (after various interruptions) from Sept. 2, 1848 to Nov. 11, 1848. (Bancroft, *op cit.*, V, 658-59, ft. note.) Atherton, on his part, was sending papers to Larkin; in fact, there are many references to the receipt or non-receipt of newspapers in their correspondence. For example, on Feb. 5, 1847 ("Larkin Documents," V, No. 11), Atherton writes: "I send you some few papers amongst others . . . The Neighbour published monthly in Valp^{o}." Three months later (May 9, 1847, *idem*, No. 37) he asks Larkin not to forget "to subscribe for all the newspapers in California on my account." Nevertheless, in his letter of Sept. 10, 1848, cited above, he says: ". . . I have only received two about a month since, where they get to it is difficult to tell."

Documentary

I Talbot H. Green of San Francisco, California do hereby appoint and constitute John W. Geary of the same place my true and lawful attorney, for me and in my behalf to convey the right, title and interest which I have as one of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund under two certain deeds of trust heretofore executed to me in connection with John W. Geary, James
by the city of San Francisco
King of William, William H. Hooper, and Benjamin L. Berry ∧ as commissioners of the sinking Fund of the City of San Francisco, in certain property described in said deeds, to such person or persons as shall be legally appointed for that position by the Legislature, by the said City, or by any court of competent jurisdiction. Witness my hand and seal this 15th day of April A D 1851. The words "by the city of San Francisco" having been interlined before the signing hereof

In presence of
John W. Dwinelle
E. V. Joice [rubric]

Talbot H. Green

Original in collection of this Society.

It will be remembered that, recognized on the street as Paul Geddes in the fall of 1850, by the following spring evidence had accumulated to show clearly that Talbot H. Green had been masquerading under an assumed name. The present document would seem to have been executed preparatory to his enforced departure from San Francisco in the steamer *Panama,* which sailed the afternoon of the date of the above document. (John Hussey, "New Light Upon Talbot H. Green," this QUARTERLY, March 1939, p. 38.) See Soulé *et al, Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 373, for notice, "To the Public," in which the citizens are told that the projected sale of lots by the sheriff in favor of Peter Smith against the city would be illegal. An ordinance of the city council of Dec. 1850 had conveyed the lots to the commissioners of the sinking fund in trust for the benefit of the creditors of the city; and by virtue of an act of the previous legislature (referred to in the above document) the commissioners of the sinking fund had conveyed said lots to the commissioners of the funded debt "upon the same trusts." Commissioners of the funded debt were: "P. A. Morse, D. J. Tallant, Wm. Hooper, Jno. W. Geary, James King of Wm." The date affixed to the public notice was June 14, 1851.

Ogden's Report of his 1829-1830 Expedition

Edited by JOHN SCAGLIONE

AS Alice Bay Maloney stated in her article on Peter Skene Ogden:

> Of all that lusty band of "Mountain men" who roamed the forests and streams of the Far West in the early days of the nineteenth century, none trapped more beaver, laughed louder, played wilder practical jokes, fought harder, or left his name on more places he discovered and explored than did Peter Skene Ogden. Nor did any travel farther afield....[1]

The greatest extent of his expenditions took place during 1829-30, when he carried the red and white banner of the Hudson's Bay Company from the Columbia River to a point not far from the Gulf of California, and, while returning, explored and trapped the entire length of California's hinterland.

Ogden's official report of this journey was conveyed by Chief Factor John McLoughlin to the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in his letter dated October 11, 1830, with the following comment: "No. 5 is Mr Ogdens Report of his transactions and occurrences last winter. . . ."[2] The editor of Volume I of McLoughlin's correspondence remarks that the report had not been found but mentions the whereabouts of the letter, published now for the first time through the courtesy of the London officials of the company. It was obtained by the present writer quite by chance, having been included in a microfilm of other material forwarded in response to his request.

Peter Skene (or Skeen) Ogden (b. City of Quebec, 1794; d. Oregon City, 1854) early displayed an adventurous disposition,[3] and although it was intended by his family that he should follow his father and grandfather in the profession of law, he abandoned these studies in favor of employment with John Jacob Astor's fur-trading organization. At seventeen years of age he began working for the North West Company. This Canadian company traded for furs in open defiance of the Hudson's Bay Company's legal monopoly of that trade in British North America. Competition led to bloodshed—and the hurling of epithets, Ogden being referred to as a "murderer" by Governor Williams of the Hudson's Bay Company.[4] After nine turbulent years of service, during which he displayed qualities marking him as a leader, Ogden was granted a "partnership" in the North West Company; but when the contending companies were merged in 1821 under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, Ogden found himself without a job.

The following year (1822) he sailed for London to petition for reconsideration of his case. He would have been refused a commission had not the newly appointed governor of the northern department, George Simpson, interceded and in 1823 secured for him a clerkship at Spokane House, the post from which the Snake parties were outfitted.[5] The northern department, of which Fort Vancouver[6] became the headquarters in 1825, included, roughly, all territory claimed by Great Britain west of the divide of the Rocky Mountains, south of Russia's Alaskan territory and north of the possessions of Mexico; but the United States also laid claim to that region, and upon the failure of the two governments to agree upon a boundary, a joint-occupation convention had been signed in 1818, whereby the area in dispute was left to exploitation by the citizens of both nations. By the merger of 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company had inherited the Columbia River posts of the North West Company. For almost eleven years after the treaty no American arrived to participate in the lucrative trade of the lower Columbia; in fact, not until Jedediah Smith's expeditions of 1827-29, did the Americans manage to push their trade west of the Great Salt Lake region.

Anticipating that the ultimate settlement of the boundary dispute would concede to the United States her claim to territory to the south of the Columbia River, the Hudson's Bay Company took steps to denude the region of all fur-bearing animals.[7] Means to this end were the annual trade expeditions to the upper Snake River country. Governor Simpson himself believed that:

> The greatest and best protection we can have from opposition is keeping the country closely hunted as the first step that the American Government will take towards colonization is through their Indian Traders and if the country becomes exhausted in Fur bearing animals they can have no inducement to proceed thither. We therefore entreat that no exertions be spared to explore and Trap every part of the country. . . .[8]

And he had received instructions from London to undersell the Americans already trapping in the Snake region,

> which will damp their sanguine expectations of profit, and diminish the value which they at present put upon the Trade. It will be useful to give the Americans full occupation by active and well regulated opposition on the South of the river to prevent their advancing toward the north.[9]

Plans to penetrate into California[10] were thus deferred while the company was absorbed in efforts to maintain a monopoly of the lower Columbia trade. Policy dictated that American traders be opposed wherever they crossed the Great Divide, and the man entrusted with the task of preventing their westward advance was Ogden. It would appear that Governor Simpson had this duty in mind when he recommended Ogden's appointment to the Columbia department; his commission as chief trader was sealed in March 1824, and in December of that year he was dispatched to the wilderness of the upper Snake country (see note 5 above).

As leader of the Snake expeditions, Ogden was exposed to hazards other than the customary Indian difficulties and the hardships of the trail. Few of his men were regularly contracted employees of the company. The majority were "freemen," formerly employed by the old North West Company and described by Governor Simpson as "the very scum of the country and generally outcasts from the service for misconduct . . . the most unruly and troublesome gang to deal with in this or perhaps any part of the world."[11]

Nor did Ogden escape collision with his American competitors. A particular source of annoyance appears to have been the Americans led by William H. Ashley and later by William L. Sublette, Jedediah Smith, and D. E. Jackson, who accused Ogden of poaching on U. S. territory.[12] As if to show disdain for their claims, Ogden returned to Fort Vancouver via the headwaters of the east fork of the Missouri River. Fear that this sort of territorial violation might prompt the U. S. government to take action induced the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to write to Ogden's superiors:

> We have repeatedly given directions that all collision with the Americans should be avoided as well as infringements upon their territory, it appears however . . . that Mr. Ogden must have been to the southward of 49 degrees of latitude and to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains which he should particularly avoid . . . [further] inattention to this instruction . . . will be attended with our serious displeasure.[13]

Until 1830, Ogden led the Snake expeditions, returning his furs to Fort Vancouver during the summer in time to be sent by the annual fall ship to London. That incredible hardship was the rule, is too frequently indicated in his journals[14]; but the results, from the point of view of geography alone, were gratifying, for he made the initial exploration of the region west and northwest of Great Salt Lake, discovering Mary's, later the Humboldt, River, and the headwaters of Pit River (which he sometimes spelled "Pitt," as in the letter transcribed presently). However, it was the fact that he maintained a favorable competition with the Americans in the Snake country, and consequently prevented their effective advance westward, which led Governor Simpson early in 1829 to write of him in this fashion:

> I cannot quit the subject of our Trapping Expeditions, without expressing my utmost satisfaction with the zeal, activity and perseverence manifested by Chief Trader Ogden, in the very arduous Service on which he has been employed for some years past, while I am sorry to intimate, that the injury his constitution has sustained, by the privations and discomfort to which he has so long been exposed, will render it necessary to relieve him as soon as we can find a Gentleman qualified to fill his place with advantage.[15]

The hardships suffered by Jedediah Smith and his party at the Umpqua River in 1828, after they had trapped northward through California from the Colorado, and the assistance rendered them by Alexander McLeod of the Hudson's Bay Company in whose sphere of influence the Umpqua was, have been described in detail by many students of the subject.[16] The immediate result of Smith's expedition was to indicate to Governor Simpson that American trappers could, conceivably, set up an opposition in California. This aroused him to renew his 1824 project of denuding all the territory south of the Columbia River of every fur-bearing animal. Nor did he hesitate when he learned of Smith's difficulties with passports in California. It was decided that Ogden, by extending the Snake expeditions southward, should enter California. "If either of these Gentlemen [Ogden and McLeod] discover fresh hunting grounds . . . we shall take the necessary measures to occupy them," wrote Governor Simpson.[17] Since McLeod apparently got no farther south than Pit River,[18] it was Ogden who pioneered the company's trapping in the central valleys of California which resulted in the almost continuous presence of Hudson's Bay Company trappers in California for the next decade.

Governor Simpson was determined to carry out this project even after the unexpected arrival, the following March 1829, of two American vessels, whose crews promptly began trade with the Indians along the Columbia and its tributaries, under the very shadow of Fort Vancouver stockade.[19] Governor Simpson expected to be in a better position later to deal with the "few contemptible American Adventurers . . . allowed to Monopolize the Trade of our Coast. . . ."[20] once the menace of American overland traders had been removed. Unfortunately for his plans, the wreck of one of the Company's annual supply ships and the great demand for trade goods on the Columbia as a result of competition with the American vessels, found the posts of the region unable to fill requisitions for trade goods.

On the 25th of March, 1829, Governor Simpson departed for the east, leaving Chief Factor John McLoughlin with instructions to outfit Ogden for an expedition into California. Although already short of men to meet the demands of the trade on the Columbia, and worried by the persistent competition from American vessels, even after the price of beaver became inflated five-fold, McLoughlin felt obliged to abide by Governor Simpson's instructions. He found it difficult to outfit Ogden and his sixty men, and was even forced to turn over his personal gun for Ogden's use.[21] Ogden, therefore, was under the necessity of commencing his greatest expedition none too well supplied.

He departed from Fort Vancouver on August 18, 1829, traveling by boat, as was the custom, to Fort Nez Percés, about five miles from the mouth of Snake River. There he was delayed for approximately two months while procuring horses from the Nez Percés Indians, who annually furnished the company with some 250 head.[22] From that place to Great Salt Lake was familiar territory to Ogden and his men. If not actually guided by one of the survivors of Smith's party,[23] Ogden at least had the advantage of an account of the trail written by Jedediah Smith.[24]

Ogden's graphic summary of his expedition is here transcribed without change, except for certain typographical expedients and an occasional bracket to clarify the meaning. It will be seen from the date of the letter that nine months passed after the arrival of his brigade at Fort Vancouver before Ogden undertook this communication with London. The delay may have been occasioned by the fact that he had become ill shortly after his return.

From Peter S. Ogden to the Gov^r^ Chief Factors & Chief Traders.*

(Dated) F. Vancouver March 12^th^ 1831

Gentlemen,

It was late in Oct^r^ 1829 ere I finally succeed'd on the South Branch of the Columbia in equipping my party with Horses, at this late period I could have no hopes of making a Fall Hunt & would from the Mountainous Country I had to travel over almost been justified in not starting [.] from my success of the preceeding year on Unknown River[25] & in the hopes both from Indian information and from what I could see of the country from whence I returned[26] I must confess I was rather sanguine in my expectations & consequently lost no time in making the discharge of Unkown River[27] but again unfortunately found it cover'd with ice & snow [.] this then blasted all hopes of a fall hunt & the second day after my arrival the natives collected not less than 400 apparently fully determined we should proceed no further either wishing we should not communicate with their neighbours or obtain any knowledge of their country & consequently could not procure any to act as Guides [.] the following day I separated from them taking nearly a South & South west[28] course and six days after discovered a fine large river[29] but destitute of Beaver [.] this I examined from its sources to its discharge in a large salt lake. I still however persevered in advancing & reached the Great Sandy desert of Great Salt Lake[30] [.] this then in Jan^y^, I was under the necessity of crossing & in effecting it we suffered severily both from the want of food & water, the party escaped with their lives but many of our Horses died, we had now a range of the rocky Mountains to cross[31] & however arduous the task from the depth of the Snow & severe cold we were without sustaining any loss fortunate in succeeding, we then soon after discovered another large stream[32] which also discharged in a Salt Lake[33] & destitute of Beaver [.] finding nothing & the natives new[34] [, for] we had crossed the Mountains [,] the more we advanced their numbers increased & from all the information I could gain from them that in a South West Course I should find Beaver [.] I still continued on in the same direction & in Feb^y^ [1830] I had the satisfaction of reaching the South West Branch[35] of the Rio Collarado which discharges in the Gulph of California[36] [.] here I found Beaver very thinly scatter'd & not wishing in case of accidents of going too near the Spanish Settlements[37] I soon took a different course [.] by following the mountains[38] I could examine the different Streams & at the same time avoid meeting with the Spaniards & on the South branch of the Boveantura[39] which I trapp'd from its sources to its discharge in the Gulf of S^t^ Francisco

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I was fortunate in securing 1000 Beavers [.] I say fortunate for when on the eve of leaving it I was join'd by an American party with a M^r Young[40] from S^t Fee well loaded with traps who were in quest of the Boveantura[41] & Williamette, we kept company for 10 days when we reached Pitt River now found to be the North Branch of the Boveantura when finding Mr. M^cLeod's trapping party's track[42] they retraced back their steps empty handed.[43]

On reaching Pitt River I was no longer a stranger to the country[44] & proceeded on[45] when I again reached Fort Nez Percy in safety on the 30th June & altho our returns were one third less than last year I trust from the extent of country I explored the want of returns will not be attributed to want of exertions but alone to the proverty of the country over which I have no control.

It now remains for me to state after the many & severe trials we escaped & had reached Fort Nez Percy in safety that unfortunately in the lower part of the dales[46] my Boat was engulph'd in a whirlpool & altho' every assistance was afforded I truly regret to state including two lads in all nine were drowned & with them 300 Beaver were lost,[47] this Gentlemen is truly a severe & a serious loss & I have the consolation that neither the dead or living can attach any blame to me.

I remain
Gentlemen:
Y^r obed^t Ser^t
(Sign'd) Peter S. Ogden

NOTES

1. Alice Bay Maloney, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30," this Quarterly, XIX (Dec. 1940), 309-15.

2. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 11, 1830, in *The Letters of John McLoughlin*, ed. by E. E. Rich (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941-44), I, 86. Footnote 1 reads: "This report has not been found, but in D. 4/125, fos. 85d-86, Ogden to the Governor . . ., March 12, 1831, there is a brief account of his movements from October, 1829, until June 30, 1830."

3. Biographical materials on Ogden may be found in: T. C. Elliott, "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XI (Sept. 1910), 229-78; W. N. Sage, "Peter Skene Ogden's Notes on Western Caledonia," *British Columbia Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, I (Jan. 1937), 45-56; Champlain Society, *Publications*, Hudson's Bay Series (hereinafter called *H. B. Ser.*), II (1939), 238. The Ogden family papers are in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

4. *H. B. Ser.*, II, 238.

5. *Idem;* see also *The Letters of John McLoughlin, op. cit.*, I, xx.

6. Fort Vancouver was located on the north side of the Columbia, some distance back from the river – approximately the present-day site of Vancouver, Washington. (*The Letters of John McLoughlin, idem,* lvi.)

7. *H. B. Ser.*, X, xi, xli.

8. Sir George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire* . . ., ed. by Frederick Merk (Cambridge, 1931), p. 252.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 295.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 294; also *H. B. Ser.*, IV (1941), 152.

11. Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

12. T. C. Elliott, ed., "The Peter Skene Ogden Journals," *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, X (Sept. 1909), 359. All but one of Ogden's Snake expedition journals are in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Co., London. The missing journal is for the 1829-30 expedition.

13. *H. B. Ser.*, IV, lxiv.

14. T. C. Elliott, ed., "The Peter Skene Ogden Journals," *op. cit.*, XI (June 1910), 216-17; *H. B. Ser.*, IV (1941), 98.

15. *H. B. Ser.*, X, 65. The officer selected to replace Ogden was John Work.

16. See, for example, *Hist. Soc. Southern Calif. Quarterly*, XIII (Pt. 4, 1927), facing p. 356, editor's note on early map of Jedediah Smith's route; A. M. Woodbury, "Route of Jedediah S. Smith in 1826 . . .," *Utah Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, IV (April 1931), 35-46; "William Todd to Edward Ermatinger, dated at York Factory, July 15, 1829," *Washington Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, I (July 1907), 256-58; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 514; II, 448-49.

17. *H. B. Ser.*, X, 64.

18. McLeod, after trapping the region near Mount Shasta, penetrated the mountains in mid-winter, returning to Fort Vancouver via Pit River during Feb. 1830. Cf. note 42 below.

19. The details of this American venture under Capt. Dominis of the brig *Owhyhee* and Capt. Thompson of the brig *Convoy* are at present being compiled in a thesis by the present writer. The log of the *Owhyhee* for this voyage is in the collection of the California Historical Society.

20. *H. B. Ser.*, X, 72.

21. John McLoughlin to Donald Manson, Aug. 18, 1829 (photostat copy furnished present writer by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Portland, Ore., owner of the original).

22. *H. B. Ser.*, X, 51.

23. Richard Leland, an Englishman hired by Smith in California, disappears from the records after his arrival with Smith at Fort Vancouver, and may have been employed as guide. Cf. Maurice S. Sullivan, *Jedediah Smith, Trader and Trailbreaker* (New York, 1936), p. 188; Francis A. Wiley, "*Jedediah Smith in the West*" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Calif., 1941), p. 272.

24. Ogden in his *Traits of American Indian Life and Character* (San Francisco, 1933), pp. 6 ff., states that he had a copy of Smith's journal.

25. Humboldt River, discovered by Ogden but later named after a geographer who had never seen it.

26. During previous expeditions to that region.

27. Humboldt River discharges into Humboldt Sink, between the present towns of Fallon and Lovelock, Nevada.

28. Obviously due *east* instead of south or southwest. No other direction appears to coincide with his descriptions of the country he afterwards traversed.

29. Traveling due east of Humboldt Sink, in six days the mounted party could travel the 180 miles to Franklin River, which discharges into Franklin Lake.

30. This he could hardly have reached had he traveled southwest from the Humboldt River, as he states above.

31. Probably, since he did not sight Great Salt Lake, these were Dugway Mountains or Fish Spring Range, Thomas Range and Drum Mountains. From previous explorations to the north, it would be likely that he would take these to be a range of *the* Rocky

Mountains, a name he would hardly have used to identify mountains south and/or west of the Humboldt.

32. Sevier River.

33. Sevier Lake. From this point, Ogden's expedition appears to follow Jedediah Smith's trail.

34. This information was significant to the company in the event that it should later decide to reënter that country for purposes of trade with those Indians.

35. Virgin River. J. J. Warner, "Early Trapping Parties in California" (MS in the Huntington Library), states that Ewing Young's party found Ogden's trail on Virgin River and *followed it into California.*

36. In a personal letter Ogden states: "I extended my trails by far greater distance to the Gulf of California . . ." (Maloney, *op. cit.*, 311.)

37. Where, like Smith, he might encounter difficulty with Mexican officials.

38. Sierra Nevada.

39. San Joaquin River.

40. Most accounts state Ewing Young arrived in California several months later (June or July), while this meeting appears to have taken place in late April or early May 1830.

41. Sacramento River, called Buenaventura by Californians.

42. Mrs. Maloney, *loc. cit.*, states that McLeod trapped as far south as Stockton. The extent of his penetration is also shown by McLoughlin in his letter of Aug. 31, 1833, to the Governor and committee, where he explains that Laframboise had taken "Mr. Chief Trader Alexr. Rodk. McLeod's tract [*sic*] of 1828 to the Bay of St. Francisco . . . in the vicinity of which . . . he made the best part of his hunt and says, as Mr. Alex. Rod. McLeod said before, that the Bay of St. Francisco abounds more in Beaver than any part of the Country that he saw between this and that place." (*The Letters of John McLoughlin, op. cit.*, I, 112; likewise, *idem*, 104.)

43. That Young was still empty handed is further indication that he entered the central valleys *after* Ogden.

44. Ogden had been the first to explore the headwaters of Pit River.

45. Probably over the same route used two years later by John Work's California expedition. For details, see Alice Bay Maloney, *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura . . .* (this Society, *Sp. Publ. 19*, 1935).

46. The Dalles, rapids of the Columbia River about 40 miles east of Fort Vancouver.

47. Details are recorded in Ogden's *Traits of American Indian Character*, see note 24 above, pp. 81-83.

California for Hungarian Readers

Letters of János Xántus, 1857 and 1859

Edited by HENRY MILLER MADDEN

In 1851 a Hungarian immigrant, János Xántus, arrived in the United States. He was born at Csokonya, in the county of Somogy, on October 5, 1825, educated for the bar, and enlisted in the Hungarian army after the outbreak of the war of independence against Austria. Xántus was captured by the Austrians in 1849 and imprisoned in Bohemia, whence he fled to Saxony in 1850. He continued on to Hamburg and London, and sailed for America in 1851. After suffering vicissitudes in Louisiana, Iowa, and Missouri, he was obliged to enlist in the United States army at St. Louis on September 24, 1855, using the assumed name of Louis Vesey. He was enrolled in the Second Dragoons, but early in 1857 he was transferred to the medical department and promoted to be hospital steward, a grade corresponding to that of sergeant. While stationed at Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, he attracted the attention of Assistant Surgeon William A. Hammond, who encouraged him in the study of natural history, and urged him to collect specimens for the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. In February 1857 Xántus commenced to correspond with Prof. Spencer F. Baird, the assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Baird was favorably impressed and obtained his transfer to Fort Tejon, in the hope that the ambitious hospital steward would be able to explore the biota of this region, which was still little known. Xántus accordingly traveled from Fort Riley to New York, boarded the *Illinois* for the Isthmus of Panama on April 6, 1857, and continued his journey in the Pacific on the *Golden Gate*, arriving at San Francisco on the twenty-ninth.

After a stay of about ten days in San Francisco, Xántus shipped himself and his equipment to San Pedro, and staged inland to Los Angeles and San Fernando, arriving at Fort Tejon on May 18, 1857. Here he discharged his duties as hospital steward for over twenty months. At the same time he worked so energetically as a naturalist that Baird was able to say, "Among the very important researches in the natural history of America, the explorations of Mr. John Xantus deserve particular mention. . . . He has exhausted the natural history of the vicinity of the fort in the most thorough manner."[1] Partially as a reward, Xántus was granted discharge from his enlistment and was appointed to supervise a tide-gauge station at Cape San Lucas, Lower California.

The new appointee left Fort Tejon on January 25, 1859, as a passenger on the Butterfield coach, bound for San Francisco, where he remained until March 14, preparing his equipment for his tour of duty at Cape San Lucas.

Sailing on the latter date, he reached his station on April 4, after a visit to La Paz. His sojourn at the Cape lasted until August 1861. There his explorations were of such importance that he won the most superlative praise from Baird. After a brief visit to his homeland in 1861 and 1862, Xántus returned to the United States and was given the consulship at Manzanillo, on the west coast of Mexico. This post he retained until he was dismissed in June 1863 for an error of judgment. He returned to Hungary in 1864, and died on December 13, 1894, in Budapest.

For his compatriots, Xántus wrote a number of letters from California. Of those reproduced here, the first two, addressed to his mother from San Francisco (May 5, 1857) and Los Angeles (July 5), are taken from pages 162-66 and 170-75 of his volume of collected letters, *Xántus János levelei Éjszakamerikából* [*János Xántus's Letters from North America*] (Pest, 1858). The remaining letters here given were published in *Magyar sajtó* [*Hungarian Press*], a newspaper of Pest, on April 6, 1859 (p. 174), April 7 (p. 178-79), April 8 (p. 182-83), April 11 (p. 190), April 19 (p. 218), April 22 (p. 230-31), and April 30 (p. 254). They were addressed to the editor from San Jose (January 29, 1859) and San Francisco (February 1, 3, 4, 6).

The first of the letters given below was written a few days after Xántus's arrival at San Francisco in 1857. From his family and friends in Hungary, Xántus had concealed the degradation (as he saw it) of his enlistment in the army, and had woven for their benefit a romantic tale of his successes as a leader of explorations on the western frontier—a tale compounded partly from incidents of his garrison life and partly from the published accounts of the expeditions of R. B. Marcy, L. Sitgreaves, J. M. Abert, *et al.* In this vein he had informed his family that he had been commissioned to lead a party of topographical engineers into the southern Sierra Nevada, and his letter from San Francisco continued this fiction by referring to "our party" which was to proceed to San Pedro and thence inland to Fort Tejon, thus cloaking his indentured condition by its tone *en grand seigneur.*

The second letter here reproduced is fictitiously dated from Los Angeles on July 5, 1857, but was probably written from Fort Tejon. Xántus had arrived at Tejon on May 18, and never revisited Los Angeles after passing through it. He wrote, in retrospect, of the refinery conducted at San Francisco by the Hungarians Wass and Uznay, permitting his distance from San Francisco to lend great enchantment to his description of the works, which is omitted from this translation. This letter followed one with the equally fictitious date of Los Angeles, July 1, 1857, which contained a description of the mission of San Gabriel: a translation of this letter appeared in the *Annual Publication* of the Historical Society of Southern California, XV (1933), 9-15. It is of this letter that Xántus spoke when he mentioned "having described in detail the local region."

The third letter is erroneously dated, for Xántus was already in San Francisco on January 29, the day attributed to this letter from San Jose. It may be presumed that it was written in San Francisco. The description of the journey by coach from Fort Tejon to San Jose has been omitted from this translation.

The fourth letter described the route from San Jose to San Francisco, and commenced to survey the social culture of the city; this is extended in the fifth and sixth letters. Many of the facts related should be taken with caution, and the discrepancy between some of them and corresponding passages in Xántus's letter of May 5, 1857, should be observed—*e.g.*, in a former letter, the statement that the Mercantile Library was founded in 1855 (see note 2, below), whereas in his letter of 1857 Xántus denied the existence of a library in San Francisco.

The seventh letter narrated the fortunes of Xántus's fellow countrymen in San Francisco; and the last of the series was devoted to an essay on the introduction of Hungarian wines in America

For assistance in the translation I am indebted to Dr. Odön Schütz, of Budapest, and Mr. Edward Stephen Gall, of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

I

San Francisco, California, May 5, 1857

Dear mother,

On the first of this month I wrote you a letter in which, aside from the detailed description of my journey, I let you know that I arrived here on the eve of April 30. Although I cannot give you much news, still I want to write you some lines, all the more because the post is leaving this evening on the ship *Golden Gate*, back to the States and Europe.

San Francisco is very well situated in both its site and its harbor, and all its surroundings are really picturesque when seen from the sea. But as soon as a stranger walks inside the town, and goes from one end to the other of its streets and surroundings, he becomes aware that he was deceived. The town is situated almost like Pozsony, with the difference that the hills are quite near the shore, and as this circumstance makes it difficult to erect buildings on the cliffs, one-third of the town is built on the water, that is, the houses stand on piers, and there is a veritable sea under about a hundred and forty streets. When the tide flows, the water rises almost as high as the floor; on the other hand, at low tide, if one raises a beam or a board of a floor and looks into the deep, one can see mud covered with rats and frogs, under the flats, the streets, and everywhere.

Under such circumstances one would think that the town is utterly unhealthful, but this is not the truth, because it is well known that San Francisco is one of the most healthful towns in the world. This is probably an outcome of the cool northwest wind, which blows at the time of the tide from one o'clock in the afternoon until seven, daily, and this cleans and permeates the air.

One-third of the town is built in the above manner on the water, one-third is built on the cliffsides, like the hovels of the Gellert Hill, or the Zuckermandl in Pozsony, and the rest is built on the sand hills situated behind the eastern part of the town, on blown sand dunes.

The extension of the town is immeasurable, but its greater part is not yet built, although one can distinctly see from some higher place the streets forming into rectangles. Some of the streets are magnificent, with their buildings of brick and stone, as well as their stores, which can be matched with any European town; but most of the town is comprised of hovels made of board, and it is a natural consequence that there are two or three fires every day—but this event, as an everyday occurrence, bothers only those neighbors whose welfare is in danger.

The population of the town, 84,000 people, consists of a mixture from all nations of the world, but still it can be divided into four main classes, in which the rest, an insignificant minority, is dissolved. One-fourth (in round figures) is of English tongue, one-fourth French and Spanish, one-fourth German, and one-fourth Chinese.

These last are in a peculiar position. In 1848, when gold was discovered in California, San Francisco had only 1200, and all California only 12,000 inhabitants; but miners needed working hands, because white workers were dear, and because slavery was prohibited. This directed the attention of the moneyed men to the great proletariat of China; they sent many ships there and imported within a few years 40,000 Chinamen, who worked very cheaply in the beginning, but later on, when they became acquainted with conditions here, they asked for higher and higher wages, and soon they worked only for as much salary as the white people.

So the sons of the Celestial Empire have come gradually to affluence, and have fought themselves into an independent position. At present, in San Francisco alone, there are 22,000 in a separate quarter of the town, where they are to be seen in every possible type of shop. They have three newspapers issued in Chinese, an opera house, and a dance hall. The most remarkable thing is that they have kept their original costume and do not seem to show any disposition to adapt it to the local civilization.

If one walks in their quarter, one may easily think that he is in China; in front of all the shops, on the houses, and so on, there are Chinese ideograms in the most glaring colors, and the Chinese language and music are heard every now and then. The sons and daughters of the Celestial Empire stroll up and down, wearing, without discrimination of sex, small pointed caps, wide coats, wide trousers, and thick-soled sandals, and having long pigtails reaching almost to the ground.

A museum, academy, library, or any other institute which belongs to the

JANOS XANTUS

in the uniform of the Hungarian army during
the mid-nineteenth century war of
independence against Austria

Reproduced from a photograph in the possession of the author

realm of wisdom, does not yet exist in San Francisco.[2] For this, time has not arrived, for nobody here has time to learn from books; everyone hunts for treasure and fortune. An attentive observer would truly think that all people here want to live only this very day, believing that the day of judgment will come next morning. On the streets everybody runs, coaches and carriages go in a furious gallop, everybody stuffs the food into his mouth, and without chewing the last mouthfuls runs for business, looking frequently at his watch. All night long there is dancing and music and whoring, as well as gambling at dice and cards; and at dawn all the community is again on foot.

One may easily imagine that under such living conditions, social culture is subject to any criticism. But how could it be otherwise? A common laborer, who has stoked a furnace, or broken stones a few weeks before, becomes wealthy in the gold mines and today he drives in a coach, employs servants in his household, and is honored as a cavalier.

The parlormaid or the kitchenmaid, who weeks ago had cooked, charred, and washed the laundry, has become the wife of a banker or a rich merchant, because she has a nice face. The barber who arrived just yesterday has become a renowned doctor, and a common smith's apprentice has become a veterinary surgeon or a manufacturer, and so it is with everything.

And under such conditions one can imagine that personal courage does not stand on a solid basis. Every day murders and robberies are committed everywhere, without being punished; they are regarded as ordinary things or operations, and one can hardly dream of a future when society may return to its normal level.

Besides the three Chinese newspapers mentioned above, the press is kept busy by three German, two Spanish, three French, and seventeen English newspapers. Furthermore, there are issued a number of fortnightly reviews or weeklies, and some monthlies.[3]

One would be rather mistaken to conclude from this great number of issues that people patronize them for spiritual sustenance. All papers, without exception, exclude "literary stuff." One-half of the paper consists of advertisements, a quarter of the daily market, list of currencies, and so on, and the rest brings news from the mines, regularly with the description of some murders and massacres. There is very seldom an article about Europe or general world politics, and even then it is given briefly in a few lines.

The trade of San Francisco may be regarded as flourishing and still in progress; from its port one may travel to any place in America, and even to any part of the world. Vessels leave each week for Australia, China, Marseilles, and Liverpool, and steamers for South America and Oregon. San Francisco is closely connected with the rest of California.

The bay of San Francisco is really the estuary of the Sacramento River; this river is navigable by steamship three hundred miles upstream. On the riverbanks lie Benicia, Sacramento City, Marysville, Nevada, and Stockton, all of which are famous cities developing on a huge scale. Between these and San Francisco there is a rather vigorous steamship traffic, all the more because from these cities fast coaches lead to the different gold mines.

About all these place I shall write you more lengthily, when once I have visited the mines and gold washing settlements.

Along the coast, steamships sail weekly up to the estuary of the Columbia River, and also to the south as far as San Diego. I intend to follow this way down to San Pedro, whence our party will continue its way on mules through Los Angeles to Tejon, into the Sierra Nevada. But before this, if at all possible, I want to see the gold mines.

There is plenty of money in the country; money making is easy and so, naturally, money is not of much value. The smallest coin in circulation is the 12½ cent piece, equal to 15 garas. A needle costs 15 garas, a cigar costs 15 garas, a glass of beer 15 garas, and so on.

Clothing and footwear are not very dear in proportion, but food is more expensive than anywhere in the world; for example, a chicken costs 2½ pengo forints,[4] a dozen eggs 1 pengo forint, a pound of beef 1 forint 20 krajcár, a pound of cauliflower 1 forint, and so on. Laundry washing of one dozen pieces of underwear (stockings, shirt, and handkerchief) costs 5 dollars, that is, 11 forints. Board and lodging in a house cost 3 dollars a day, 16 dollars a week, and 50 dollars a month.

I observe with pleasure, in closing my letter, that all our compatriots, who have lived and are still living here, have grown rich. My friend Molitorisz [Molitor],[5] who migrated here from London in 1851, moved back a year ago with his bags of gold; he was a money-changer and made money at it, and then went to Europe, to enjoy it as long as he can. Very clever.

At present there are still four compatriots here. János Szabó[6] is secretary of the local United States Mint. He gets a good salary, and handles considerable capital in different enterprises.

A famous globe-trotting compatriot, Agoston Haraszti [Haraszthy],[7] is in a company with Count Vas [Wass][8] and Urnay [Uznay],[9] the late captain of Honvéds; they have a bank and an exchange office; moreover, they have a gold smelting and refining factory with steam power installation, and they are already millionaires, although their business has just started to flourish.

The younger brother of Haraszthy (Arpád)[10] came with me from New York on the steamship. He is still a youth and came directly from the Bácska to his brother to try his luck. I have not seen Urnay yet, but I met his wife (she is a Hungarian lady from Ujvidék) in the bank, and she invited me cordially to lunch, which invitation I have accepted with pleasure—all the more, because my other compatriots would be there for my sake.

Urnay lives outside the town, in the Santos Dolores Mission, where, as I hear, he has a house in the form of a castle, and a beautiful park in the English style, but he goes home in a carriage only in the evening because he spends the entire day here in town.

I had a rather pleasant encounter here, which I do want to mention. I met Madame Huebuer [Hübner?],[11] who had received me with such sisterly love in Hamburg. As Henriette tells it, her husband had emigrated in 1852 and moved all his business here, but last year he died. Henriette is therefore a widow at present, and as she is wealthy, young, and beautiful, naturally she has many adorers. But she, as a cultured, intelligent woman, does not want to bury herself here, so she is going to sail back to Hamburg this summer. Last night I visited her, and so I met all the civilized local German colony; and as I was introduced to all the German dandies, I was astonished that Henriette wants to escape as far as Hamburg from them.

II

Los Angeles, Southern California, July 5, 1857

Dear mother,

As we are going to start from here tomorrow night [for Fort Tejon], I seize the opportunity to write you once more before I arrive at my destination. We had much trouble until we finished preparing the trappings and packs for the mules and donkeys, and this is the reason we had to stay here so long.

The local flora is truly a marvel; such an astounding medley of colors cover the meadows and valleys here that one can hardly imagine anything more beautiful.

I plucked in San Gabriel a handful of meadow flowers and pressed them in a book just to send them piece by piece in my successive letters to you, to give you a notion of the beauty and variety of the local flora.

After having described in detail the local region to you in my last letter, I shall not mention it further, but take you, mother, on the wings of thought once more to San Francisco. I shall hardly have time to return to this subject in my next letters, although I saw and witnessed much that I could write volumes about. I shall show you one enterprise of our compatriots of which every Hungarian can justly be proud.

It is the gold refinery of Count Vas, Urnay, and Haraszthy. My friend Vas led me to the refinery, and was so kind as to show me every corner and explain everything; and I must tell you that I was very much surprised to see such an extensive, economical, and useful operation in such a compact organization. . . .

Behind the hall is Vas's office, a small but most tasteful sanctuary. Sanctuary I call it, because the walls are covered with gold-framed portraits of Hungarian authors and publicists, who presumably never saw so much treasure at home, as they have since they became roommates of our friend Vas. . . .

In San Francisco there is also a certain Csapkay [Czapkay],[12] a barber's helper from Hungary, a capital humbug, the like of whom we never met in our life as an emigrant. In wonderful advertisements, in calendars and in all the newspapers, he has proclaimed since he arrived at San Francisco (without a penny) how great a doctor he was in Hungary and how he could completely and instantaneously cure any disease. He acquired more and more patients each day, so that at last he has a reputation like the priest of Rudno.

When I was in San Francisco our compatriot Dulcamara [Czapkay] was just "in floribus" and, as he says, he collected by doctoring at least a few hundred dollars. He has, besides, a nice home in the best quarter of the town. It is really astounding how enormously one can cheat an American if one finds the "right way." Never in my life have I seen a more simple, uneducated, and clumsier youngster than this Csapkay and still he succeeds. I have cut out an advertisement of his from a German newspaper of San Francisco which is not quite so idiotic and hazardous as the ones in the American papers (because, among the Germans, philosophers are more easily found), but still this gives you a suitable notion of him without any observations of my own, and I know you will laugh a great deal, especially because he promises to administer help against "Kinderlosigkeit."

III

San Jose, January 29, [1859]

. . . Our countryman, Sándor Nagy,[13] a former hussar captain, lives in San Jose, and deals in ready-made clothes. He has a well-stocked store in the best part of town, and makes an honorable living. He is still unmarried, yet wishes to submit to the rule of the slipper, and has already picked out the queen of his heart.

IV

San Francisco, February 1, [1859]

Although I had intended to come here by boat from San Jose, I later learned that because of low water the steamer could only get within fifteen miles of the town, to which point the journey would have to be made by road, so I bought a ticket on the express coach. We left at ten o'clock in the morning and arrived at five in the afternoon. The road can be called good, though we had to walk from about two miles out to the city because of the terrific sand. All along the route of fifty-three miles, on the left and right and as far as the eye can see, there are enclosed gardens (some with wire fences miles long) and no end of beautiful country houses. Almost in the middle of the route is the city of San Mateo, which is the seat of the county of the same name. It has many beautiful public buildings which are especially remarkable because the city is composed of individual buildings spread over a large area, and what we call streets cannot be seen.

Almost halfway between San Mateo and San Francisco we saw Rancho del Capuchino, the country home owned by our countryman, János Szabó, who was born in Buda. It is a very nice villa with many outbuildings; great numbers of oxen, horses, and sheep graze in its pastures. I later learned that Szabó has leased this property, and receives a rental of $3000 a year. It has about 1700 acres, only 400 of which are under cultivation.

San Francisco has changed tremendously both within and without since I was last here. At that time there was not a scientific institution worthy of the name, public order and peace were hardly known, and the paving of streets and other such things were not even worth mentioning. Most of the streets are now paved or, at least, temporarily covered with boards. One can now walk in front of the stores and warehouses because the police no longer permit bales and boxes to stand outside. Innumerable brick, stone, marble, and iron houses have been built on the main streets. The public conveyances have been numbered and placed under police supervision. It is true that brawlings, stabbings, and shootings are still everyday occurrences which cause no surprise, yet individual confidence is so great that now a *peaceful* man can walk on the streets both day and night with as much security as in any eastern city, even though the only illumination which exists is that installed by a few rich men for their own convenience. In matters such as this last the city has not as yet intervened.

Not so long ago a faculty of medicine was added to the state university, and in this connection a Californian medical association was organized, which publishes an extremely interesting monthly journal in the interests of doctors and physicians.[14]

Last year a scientific society was organized, which also publishes a monthly review. Interesting lectures are held daily in its halls. Its collection of animals, metals, and minerals grows from day to day, and beyond doubt the society will be of great influence in the development of Californian mining.

There is also a museum in San Francisco, but it is built on the American model and can be considered rather a gallery of curiosities than a place in which to learn and study.[15] The museum was established as a speculative scheme, and has mostly living animals which dance and perform other tricks to attract the public. Admission is fifty cents, which is half a dollar.

At present there are four theaters in San Francisco, one of which is of no account and in which tightrope walkers perform for the lowest class of people. The other three are large and good-looking buildings. One of these, the American Theater, is the largest, and German, Spanish, and French performances are alternately given twice a week. In the Maguire Opera House and in the Lyceum Theater English performances are given daily, most of them song-and-dance burlesques, and striking tableaux, as the "spectacle" is still of the greatest attraction to the American. All these theaters are built according to American ideas and tastes, that is, without box seats. There are only four box seats and these are next to the proscenium arch, and are only for the actors. Otherwise there are two kinds of seats: one, the parquette, or the orchestra, and the other the dress circle, which we call reserved seats, of two rows, above the former. These are comfortable, upholstered, and unnumbered seats where anyone who pays the price may sit as he pleases. There is not much difference in price between the two places, and persons who are alone generally go to the parquette while women and families sit in the dress circle.

The Lyceum Theater started a new thing not so long ago which I believe to be the only one of its kind, and for this reason I mention it. Instead of the usual playbills this theater has printed a daily newspaper called the Lyceum Gazette.[16] The paper consists of four closely printed quarto pages, the first of which is adorned with the program in large letters and, occasionally, with pictures or caricatures of the best-known actors who are playing that day. Ordinary newspaper material is on the second page, along with a critical column in which the theater managers and actors criticize themselves in advance of the performance. One may always read in this column that the theater is the largest and best in the world, its actors the most famous, and so on, and the editors who had the nerve to write unfavorable reviews of yesterday's performance in their newspapers are called "rascals, donkeys, fools, loafers, and worthless beggars" in today's Gazette by the criticized individuals, who invite the public to attend today's performance and to pass judgment themselves on those rattlesnake scribblers.

The rest of the newspaper consists of advertisements. Fifteen thousand copies are distributed daily in all parts of the city and on the ships in the harbor and, naturally, entirely without cost. Because of its large circulation and many readers, an American realizes that there is no better medium for the advertisement of his goods, and for this reason large advertisements appear in each number of the Gazette, though they cost $2.50 a line. This not only finances the newspaper but brings in a sizable income to the theater as well, especially if we consider that the Gazette is the best promoter of the theater's interest.

Until now Hungarian theaters have hardly realized that they could earn just as much from the playbills as from the plays themselves, and I recommend the scheme to the attention of those theater managers who must spend almost half their income on the printing of the playbills alone. (?)

V

San Francisco, February 3, [1859]

In the last few days I received several invitations to visit the Mercantile Library Association but I always procrastinated as I did not expect the pleasure to outweigh the trouble. How mistaken I was when I entered the association's building this morning! The extravagantly furnished palace is really such a marvellous club, and has such wonderful libraries and reading rooms, that few Europeans would expect to find the like in California, and when they stumble upon it by accident, as I did, they must bow deeply.

Beside its many social rooms, the association has three reading rooms, a select library, and a billiard and a chess room. The library has only scientific works, in strong and good-looking bindings, numbering 13,700 volumes. Card catalogues are on the tables and every member helps himself; if he likes, he may take home any book he wishes to read. All that the rules of the association require is that the borrower enter the name of the book he is taking and keep it no longer than three days. Such confidence in the members is absolutely unknown in Europe but here it is the general rule, and many will wonder when I say that although one-third of the books are always in circulation, in the four years the association has been in existence only five books have disappeared. This is brilliant proof that the members do not abuse this confidence, and with jealous honesty everyone guards the collective honor of the association. By doing so they show that everyone in America is mature and is able to observe the laws and rules of society without the supervision and control of officials.

The library has comfortable armchairs and divans for the use of the readers, and well-equipped writing tables where they may make their notes. The first of the reading rooms has foreign newspapers, magazines, and periodicals from all over the world. The second contains nothing but publications of the Californian press, and the third has general Anglo-Saxon literature. Each of the rooms is well supplied with writing materials, encyclopaedias, and all kinds of dictionaries. At present, 174 daily and weekly newspapers, 84 monthly, and 63 quarterly magazines and many other periodicals in almost every language and from all parts of the world are obtainable. The association has charter and elected members. Charter members pay $500 at once and are forever exempt from all dues of any kind. Elected members pay an admission fee of $50 and monthly dues of $2. Not counting the charter members, the association has 2145 members and a regular annual income of $51,480, or much more than 100,000 pengo forint.[17]

There are eleven daily newspapers in San Francisco, eight of them morning and three of them evening, and their daily circulation is about 95,000 copies. The Alta California morning paper has the largest circulation (18,000); then comes the Evening Bulletin with 9,000. Newspapers with the smallest circulation are the California Democrat (German) with 1500 copies and the Phete (French)[18] with 1900. Outside the eleven daily papers there are thirteen weekly publications with a total circulation of 135,000. The most important of these is the Pacific Herald with 31,000 copies.[19] By languages the weekly papers are German, French, Spanish (2), Chinese (2), and English (7). The monthly, quarterly, and annual periodicals are all

English, and the leading one of these is a fashion magazine something like the old *Honderü*, only much larger because it has 164 pages.

VI

San Francisco, February 3, [1859]

Over and above these newspapers and magazines fifteen periodicals appear, which, in San Francisco slang, are called *steamboat papers.* These newspapers have neither subscribers nor a definite schedule of publication, but are printed to coincide with the departure of ocean-going vessels. They contain the latest news of California and the Pacific states, and are purchased partly by the passengers to read during the journey, partly by the captains and postal agents who sell them in places where the ships touch. How widespread and important these newspapers are appears from the fact that the ship which leaves every other week for New Orleans, Havana, New York, Le Havre, and London, by way of Panama, takes at least 50,000 *steamboat papers*, and there was a time when it took more than 100,000 copies.

That Californian society is striving for a secure foundation and is approaching solidarity is shown not only by scientific and intellectual movements but also by the fact that some of the daily newspapers print special articles and devote some space to European affairs in their pages. All this is just a beginning, if we consider, for example, that of the thirty-six packed columns of imperial type of the Daily Alta California only three are devoted to such articles, and thirty-two or thirty-three to commercial, financial, shipping, and similar news and advertisements. Advertisements play a great part all over America, but in California they are of a special character. The advertiser does not wish to bring his goods only to the attention of those who are naturally interested, but with every conceivable artifice he strives to have the advertisement catch everyone's eye, and to induce those people to buy his goods who never thought of doing so. By way of example, I have copied a few advertisements from yesterday's Morning Call.

☞ ☞ ☞ Exceptionally Important News!
Complications with France and England! !
Outbreak of Nicaraguan War! ! !
Walker and the Filibusters! ! ! !

According to the latest private telegrams, a great war is in the offing. England will blockade the ocean, and all prices will rise fabulously. Because of his respect for the public, the undersigned has decided to sell his goods at unusually low prices until the outbreak of war, and he expects the public to stock up on boots and shoes at his warehouse, considering that he is sacrificing much by offering his boots at prices lower than he paid for them. Et cetera.

Here is another:

The St. Louis Post Has Arrived!
Unheard-of and Strange News! ! [Sketch of Pony Express]
Wonderful and Unexpected News! ! !

The undersigned respectfully gives notice that this morning he intends to open his cafe, the Overland Mail Salvu, and from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. invites the public to a sumptuous luncheon, during which time French, German, and Hungarian wines will be served at low prices. Do not forget the place.

217 Clay Street!
David Angelis.

As this is the only way to prosper here, it frequently happens that before one opens a business he offers $100 or more to the writers of advertisements, and, just as in works submitted in a prize contest, here too judges are appointed to select the best advertisement. If one wins many of these prizes, he becomes just as famous as any laureate dramatist or ballad poet in our own country.

My friend Pál Kovács would say, "As many houses, so many customs"—and he is right.

VII

San Francisco, February 4, [1859]

Thirty Hungarians now live in San Francisco alone. I should say, people *from* Hungary, because two-thirds of them are Jews. Very few of them speak Hungarian and they have boasted of being Hungarians only as long as being a Hungarian was advantageous. . . .

The Gr. [óf] V. [as] gold smelting plant, of which I informed the Hungarian public extensively some few years ago (cf. *Levelei Éjszakamerikából*) has fallen upon evil days. In the absence of S. [amu] V. [as] and Molitor the partners who remained here (Haraszthy and Usznay) engaged in perilous speculations and soon the formerly rosy condition of the plant became so complicated that operations had to be suspended. It is too bad that V. and Molitor could not have returned at that time; they would have set everything right with their clear and calculating natures. But it is too late now. The business cannot be helped. Molitor, it is true, returned from London, but only after his whole fortune had gone up in smoke. At present the poor man is back where he started when he first came to California a few years ago, and is now beginning anew. A few days ago he opened a refinery across from the United States Mint with his younger brother, and their business is doing fairly well again.

Usznay bought a silver mine in Lower California near La Paz and will go down in a few days personally to take over the management of the mine.

Agoston Haraszthy has finally given up all reckless speculation once and for all (which did not become a Hungarian judge anyhow), and is living on his estate in Sonoma, growing grapes, making wine, and breeding calves, and so on, and I am convinced that in a few years he will get further than he did with his gold smelting. . . .

I cannot fail to mention an excellent compatriot of ours here named József Vörös.[20] When I last saw Joe in St. Louis a few years ago, he had just married and was as poor as a church mouse. With a few pennies belonging to him and his wife he bought a box of hats and caps, and moved to California to seek his fortune. Now he has two houses in the best part of town, and he owns a large hat factory connected with the most important hat warehouse in the city. Beyond this he has some capital, too. My friend has three children and is expecting a fourth. His first was born at sea while his wife was on her way here. Our countryman Vörös was born in Abauj.

There is a countryman of ours in San Francisco who is living proof of the fact that business minds can be found in Hungary, too. His name is Putzer[21] and he was born in Pécs. He is so typically Hungarian that he can hardly speak German, and English not at all, though he has been in this country for three years. When our compatriot Putzer first heard that Hungarian wines enjoy a good sale in America, he sold all his real and personal property, bought Hungarian wines, loaded them on board ship at Triest with all his belongings, and sailed to California. Arriving here—how, he himself does not know—he sold his wine at a handsome profit, lit his pipe, and with a truly Hungarian gesture went back home for some more. He returned not long ago and again sold his wine at fancy prices. If my readers knew that Putzer is now exactly sixty years old, speaks nothing but Hungarian, was a butcher all his life in Pécs, yet still dared to sink his whole fortune in such a risky and perilous venture, and twice made the trip around Cape Horn—which totals about 40,000 miles—they will doubtless marvel, and along with me will sincerely wish that success may continue to crown the efforts of our countryman Putzer.

In spite of all this, Putzer has grown tired of tramping over the ocean, and since he learned that he could send money home, he is arranging to have the wine sent here, thus eliminating the necessity of making the voyages himself.

Putzer rented a huge cellar in the center of the city, where he sells wine at retail and by the drink. He has a billiard table and quite a few customers, most of them Austrians, Saxons, and Prussians.

In American cafes and saloons the custom prevails of keeping the table spread all day long with various meats and vegetables; the customers may eat as much as they like—free. The owner, on the other hand, expects all those who have eaten to drink, and since the drinks must be paid for, it can be seen that the owner loses nothing. In spite of that, this way of living is cheap, and there are many men in America who live in these places alone. Everyone may eat as much as he likes; then he drinks something for which in San Francisco he pays only 12½ cents—that is, about 20 krajcárs—the smallest coin in circulation. If one lives like this, two meals a day are enough, and they cost 25 cents, while in hotels one pays 75 cents, or even a dollar, for meals which are frequently worse.

Naturally, our countryman Putzer has such a table, too, though it is sometimes hard to convince him that he should "feed those farmers for nothing!"

His table is exclusively Hungarian – smoked sausages, stuffed cabbage, rolled curd cakes, and gulyás are on the daily menu. Yesterday he had paprikás fish and soup in my honor, and we were fortunate that no one beside ourselves could eat it. Their tongues burned with the mere tasting. The fish soup was very good and made of ten or twelve sea fish, but at that Putzer cannot stand sea fish. He asserts that if he could be sure that he could bring back some pike, carp, and shad from Baranya county for hatching, he would gladly go home once more, sparing neither expense nor trouble. Another original Hungarian idea!

VIII

San Francisco, February 6, [1859]

When the Panama steamer arrived yesterday I received a large bundle of Hungarian newspapers, and I need hardly say that I did nothing in the last twenty-four hours but read the *Magyar sajtó* [*Hungarian Press*], the *Magyar néplap* [*Hungarian People's Paper*], and the *Vasárnapi ujság* [*Sunday News*]. My attention was especially drawn to reprinted articles on the twelfth and thirteenth pages of the supplement "Politikai ujdonságok" ["Politcal News"] of the last-named paper. One of them was a letter of my friend Imre Nagy, "Our wine trade with America," in the winegrower's journal, and the other was S. W. Sellers's fourth letter to the editor of the *Gazdasági lapok* [*Agricultural Paper*].

Having touched upon our compatriot Putzer's wine business here in my last letter, I received the articles at just the right time to comment on the subject according to my understanding and, of course, my experience, of it.

I, too, heartily agree with Mr. Sellers when he says that shipment by water is the cheapest, and that if a boat is loaded with wine at high water in Pest it can thereby be sent with least cost to America or to western Europe. I wholeheartedly agree with the other point also, that if Hungary wishes to become a commercial country, its first task is to open a free and profitable trade with other parts of the world.

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As long as commercial activity is under supervision and steamboat transportation is a monopoly, Pest will be Pest no matter what business ideas may prevail. As soon as commerce leaves its infancy and reaches manhood, and when shipping becomes a private business, then, whether there are any enterprising men or not, Hungarian commerce will flourish and the new institutions will supply the entrepreneurs *à tout prix*.

In many ways my friend, Imre Nagy, speaks correctly when he says that a European businessman is not a businessman in America, that the Hungarian wine trade can no longer be carried on in America as it was before, and that there are American wine merchants who strike bargains of $400,000 a year if they find the right party. For a long time Imre Nagy was in close connection with a New York wine merchant by the name of Freund and he doubtless speaks from experience, but I am sure that an American would never buy $400,000 worth of Hungarian wine so that he might make a profit on it; but he would buy $400,000 worth of Hungarian wine, and even more, on long-term credit so that he could sink the clear profit made on the price of the wine into another business, the rapid turnover of which would enable him to pay for the wine in about twelve or eighteen months.

Hungarian wine is not asked for at all in America. The Americans are accustomed to port and sherry, and generally drink sweet wines only. The Americans like novelty and it is for this reason alone that things Hungarian came into fashion. But even if a rich American floods his table with American wines for his guests, you will rarely see him drink them. Instead, he drinks madeira, sherry, or Rhenish champagne. It is beyond doubt that the sweet Hungarian wines, especially the *asszú* variety, would find a ready market in America if the wine merchants could ship them here at the same cost as the Spanish and Portuguese wines; and buyers could be counted on even if high prices were asked for small quantities.

The present American generation will never drink the so-called dry wines. In this respect one could count only on the ten million or so foreigners living in America who, beside Rhine wines, drink a great deal of Bordeaux. On the other hand, the consuming public has become accustomed to low prices, and the *budai*, *egri*, *villányi*, *neszmélyi*, *kobányai*, and *somlyai* wines could compete with French wines only if they could be shipped and sold here at correspondingly low prices. And the French wines are very inexpensive in America. In New Orleans, for example, ordinary table Bordeaux (St. Julien, Rouge, or Claret)can be obtained for 12-12½ cents a bottle and 30 cents a gallon! This price prevails, with little or no difference, in the other parts of America.

Another question remains: can the Hungarian merchant or company place a gallon of *neszmélyi*, *villányi*, or *szegszárdi* wine on the market here for 30 cents? If they can, they may easily sell not only $400,000 worth but even $1,000,000 worth; if not, then their business will never develop and they will sell a barrel or two now and then to such persons who buy Hungarian wine just so that they, too, may have some Hungarian wine.

Putzer sells all Hungarian wines at a dollar a bottle, or twelve bottles for $9, but I must say that up till now he has sold hardly a gallon to an American. Generally Frenchmen, Germans, and Hungarians drink and buy his wine, and almost half his supply was purchased by the local Austrian consul, together with his friends. Putzer will always be able to sell his wine in small amounts like this, but if he keeps a large stock on hand, or if someone competes with him, he is certain to lose unless he buys his wine more cheaply or has it sent at less cost. Putzer's *szegszárdi* wine (though it is very ordinary) costs 55 cents a gallon as sent here. Shipment and sale of this kind can, naturally, be profitable only on a small scale; certain disaster would follow dealing in large quantities.

For the correction of misinformed opinion it is necessary to remark that ocean shipment does not in the least harm Hungarian wine or alter its flavor. I have tasted almost all the Hungarian wines both here and in Philadelphia and New York, and have found that they have the same quality and bouquet as similar types at home.

Putzer's plum brandy is especially good and extremely popular, and is almost the only article in his cellar which the Americans grab, taking it away in a few days' time at $4 a gallon. I think we could sell at least twenty thousand gallons of good plum brandy here at any price. Sailors, especially, like it and would rather drink it than French or California cognac.

János Xántus

NOTES

1. Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1858, p. 51.

2. The California Academy of Natural Sciences was organized in 1853, the Mercantile Library Association in 1853, and the Mechanics' Institute in 1855. (*San Francisco Directory*, 1856.)

3. Although Xántus's figures are not exactly accurate, they are a reasonably correct statement of this fluid commodity.

4. A silver florin, worth $0.48.

5. Agoston Molitor was an officer in the Hungarian army during the war for independence. In San Francisco he was associated with Wass and Uznay in coining enterprises. He claimed to have spent two years in Lower California.

6. János Szabó is the source of some confusion. He arrived in California in 1854. In 1857 he was involved in the trial of Isador and Hermann Blum, who were charged with conspiring to extort money from him, believing him a mint defaulter and in their power. In 1859 he returned to Hungary. H. H. Bancroft, in *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 342, gives his name as T. A. Szabo; and a T. A. Szabo is listed by S. F. Baird in *Birds of North America* (Philadelphia, 1860), as a collector of birds at Bodega in 1855 (consult index).

7. Agoston Haraszthy was born about 1812 at Futtak in Hungary. He migrated to Wisconsin in 1840, returned to Hungary in 1842 in order to remove his family, resettled in Wisconsin, and in 1849 came overland with his family to California. In 1852 he commenced vine planting near San Francisco, and expanded his vineyards at Sonoma in 1857. He removed to Nicaragua in 1866, and died there in 1869.

8. Count Samu Wass (1814-1879) was twice in the United States during the years 1850-1859. In San Francisco he established the firm of Wass, Molitor & Company, and commenced issuing coins in 1852. The firm of Wass, Uznay & Company was listed in the *San Francisco Directory*, 1856-1857. In 1862 Mór Ráth, the publisher of Pest, issued Wass's *Kilencz év egy számuzött életébol* [*Nine Years in the Life of an Emigrant*] which, unfortunately, does not treat of his experiences in San Francisco.

9. Károly Uznay was associated with Wass and Molitor in various coining and assaying enterprises.

10. Xántus was in error in referring to Arpád Haraszthy as the "younger brother" of

Agoston Haraszthy; Arpád was the third son of Agoston. He was born in Futtak, Hungary, on June 28, 1840, and was taken to Wisconsin by his father about the year 1842. He came to California with his father in 1849. In 1852 he was sent to school in the eastern states, and in 1857 he returned to California. After 1870 he was one of the leading viticulturists of California. Arpád Haraszthy died on Nov. 15, 1900.

11. Not identified.

12. Lajos Czapkay was born in Kisszeben, Hungary, in 1830. In 1849, after the Hungarian war for independence, he went to Turkey, and thence to the United States. After working as a pharmacist in Philadelphia he moved to San Francisco. There he conducted a "Grand Medical and Surgical Institute for the Permanent Cure of all Private and Chronic Diseases, and the Suppression of Quackery" at Armory Hall, at the corner of Montgomery and Sacramento Streets. His advertisements, which appeared even in newspapers of the mining regions, proclaimed him "late in the Hungarian Revolutionary War, Chief Physician to the 20th Regiment of Honveds, Chief Surgeon to the Military Hospital of Pesth, Hungary, and late Lecturer on Diseases of Women and Children." He was naturalized in 1856, and in 1866 was appointed United States consul at Bucharest, where he served from May 1867, to October 1868. He resigned his office in San Francisco on June 30, 1869. Czapkay died at Portland, Oregon, on May 27, 1882.

13. Not identified.

14. Mention of a "state university" at this date was premature; perhaps Xántus referred to the medical department of the University of the Pacific. The *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* was established in 1858.

15. Perhaps the Pacific Museum, at the northeast corner of Kearny and Clay Streets.

16. The *Gazette*, published by Wheelock and Wilcocks, at 66 Merchant Street.

17. The Mercantile Library Association had 1200 members in 1859, and the terms of admission were an initiation fee of $5 and a monthly fee of $1. Xántus's other figures should be revised in the light of this information.

18. *Le Phare, Journal Franco-Californien*, published from 1855 to 1863.

19. The *Herald*. Xántus's statistics should not be regarded as accurate.

20. József Vörös appeared in directories of San Francisco from 1856 until 1904 as Joseph Wores, hatter. From 1856 through 1859 he manufactured hats at 161 Washington Street.

21. József Putzer came to California in 1857. In 1859 he was listed as selling Hungarian wines at the corner of Sansome and Commercial Streets. In 1860 he resided near Mountain View, in Santa Clara County, and occupied himself as a farmer with 164 acres.

Preservation of the State Archives

By J. N. Bowman

INTRODUCTION

A LEGISLATIVE ACT approved May 15, 1947,[1] provided that

> all reports from county and city officials and individuals which have been in the custody of the Controller for a period of five years may be destroyed. When they are in excess of fifteen years, the Controller may also destroy after they have been microfilmed claims upon which warrants have been issued, canceled warrants, and other records involving the expenditure of state money. Microfilming before destruction of the documents herein mentioned need not be done if in the opinion of the Controller and the Director of Finance there is no need to preserve a record of the documents to be destroyed. This section does not apply to books of original entry.

In putting the act into effect, some misunderstanding and a few erroneous ideas have arisen within the state as to what was being done; to counteract them, this paper presents a short statement of the progress actually made.

In August 1947 the preliminary work of putting the new act into effect was begun and by the end of the year had progressed to a point where a crew of clerks could be put to work early in 1948. The controller, with the approval of the director of finance, authorized the destruction of all claim papers of the first fifty fiscal years and, later, those from this period to the end of the legal limit in the early 1930's. Fortunately the directions of the controller were not carried out in full. The archivists in charge decided to preserve intact all claim papers, warrants and receipts of the first two fiscal years, from 1849 to 1851, together with the original paid state bonds and the Indian war loan bonds. After these first two years, they preserved, as historical or museum curiosities, only such claims as struck the clerks as of historical interest; these included claims relative to the purchase or release of state lands, relief warrants paid to Sutter and to Marshall, claims relative to the Great Seal, to the rocks for the Washington Monument, to the capture of Joaquin Murieta, Black Bart and a few other highwaymen, and claims of similar isolated historical incidents. These claims, extending from the 3d to the 64th fiscal years, excluding three years, are not numerous.

The controller and the director of finance also passed upon the destruction of claims older than fifteen years, excluding the payrolls from 1893 onward; but before the actual destruction, the secretary of state, on the basis of the last part of the paragraph of the above act and of article 6 of chapter 1556 of an act passed two months later creating the state record depository,[2] decided to have these discarded claims examined for their possible historical value to historians, statisticians, economists, and general researchers. The papers (exclusive of those retained by the archivists and clerks, as mentioned above), that had already been sent to the Stockton paper mill for destruction, reached from the 3d to the 38th fiscal year, or from July 1851 to July 1887; and when the task of sorting began on May 1st, there were also ready for shipment to Stockton 140 cartons[8] of claims and warrants reaching from 1887 to 1908. On request, the shipment was delayed for an investigation of the contents for their possible historical value.

GENERAL NATURE OF CLAIMS

The claims were with a few exceptions all those presented to the state for payment for materials and services rendered, together with all necessary supporting papers. For current use all payrolls were extracted from the claims from 1893 onward, that year being taken as the earliest possible year whose payroll could affect any present or former living employee of the state. After the payrolls were extracted from the claims, the remaining papers were often in such a dilapidated condition that preservation was impossible; in other words, after the payrolls were taken out, what remained was considered and treated as waste paper.

THE QUESTION OF SPACE

The present vaults in the capitol building are well filled with papers and books of record, and the two floors of the warehouse allocated to the archives are crowded to capacity, so that departments are requested to send no more papers at present to relieve their own crowded condition. One of the two floors of the warehouse is occupied almost wholly by the controller's claims and warrants. No other space has been found available in Sacramento and, as will be noted below, none was found in the University of California nor in San Francisco. Less than half of the state departments at present have papers or books in the archives; the other departments, together with those which have deposited materials, have a filing congestion and are waiting for the moment when they can get relief by sending material to the archives; and each new fiscal year means the addition of an abundance of papers for the archives to preserve for the legal or traditional period of years. The present warehouse just cannot take it. Space, then, was and is the determining and limiting factor. The claims must be reduced in bulk, however irretrievable the historical loss may be.

THE PROCESS OF SAMPLING

To meet this limiting condition of space, a double sampling method was put into practice. First came the selection of characteristic samples of the various groups of institutions, departments, boards, and divisions, representing the activities of the state over a long period of time and having a wide geographic distribution. The great value of the claims is in the details of the kinds, names, quantities, brands, and costs of materials furnished and of the services rendered. The preserved books of record of the controller and the treasurer give, among the recorded items, only a very general statement of the object of the claims for which warrants were issued and paid. If the actual claim has no break-down of details beyond the record-book entry, its destruction is practically no loss. In addition to the historical value of the details of materials and services, there are the names and addresses and also often the pictures of the establishments on the billheads of the vendors, the departments or establishments using the services and materials, the signatures, the change in the form of bills, the names and addresses of persons rendering services of specific kinds, together with places and dates of operations. After a trial with sampled cartons of discarded claims, about 15 groups were selected; among them were San Quentin, Chico Normal School, Whittier School, Stockton Hospital, the capitol building, the governor's residence, orphans, and highways. For these groups, all salvageable claims were taken from the cartons of waste from 1887 onward, as were also the payrolls from 1887 to 1893. This group is designated *All-Year-Samples*, as those claims selected from 1849 to 1887 are designated *Samples*.

The second of the double-sampling selection is named *Annual Samples* and is composed of one or several claims, by calendar as well as by fiscal years, of the various departments, divisions, boards, institutions and establishments, but excluding claims made only for stamps, postal cards, travel expenses, and those containing no break-down of details. Beginning with the 66th fiscal year, 1914-15, the clerks took over the task of pulling out all claims of the *All-Year-Sample* group, after they had extracted the payrolls. The *Annual Samples* were selected from a number of cartons taken at random in the middle of the first and second halves of each fiscal year.

The future researcher will naturally use the books of record of the controller and of the treasurer when studying the salvaged claims. For the historian it is assumed that the present trend of *Kulturgeschichte*, or history of civilization, will continue and be intensified in California studies—what the people used, the kinds and character of materials and services sold and rendered to the state, and the details of the activities of the various parts of the state organization. The *All-Year-Sample* claims, so far as salvageable, will give the details of one establishment of its group, while the *Annual Sample* claims will give details of each category for a few instances of a calendar and fiscal year, on the basis of which it will be possible to infer the details of a full year from the claims of the kindred *All-Year Samples*. The economist and the statistician will naturally make the books of record the basis of their studies and use the available salvaged claims for details. Excepting for a few tables for scattered years, no statistics of the state activity in the care of orphans and aged exist prior to 1927; the salvaged claims will make possible such a study back to 1887—but a study back to the 1850's is now impossible from the controller's papers. From the claims of the first two fiscal years it is known that the legislature and the Supreme Court were still using black sand as well as blotting paper, and also requisitioning goose quills as well as steel pens during those years, but when the state ceased to purchase these articles cannot be determined—the claims were destroyed. When the state bought its first typewriter and its first automotive vehicle and equipment cannot be learned from the claims—they also have been destroyed. A century from now, new methods of mechanical writing and possibly of atomic lighting and energy will make students as interested in the present typewriters and business machines, and in the present electric lighting, equipment and motive power as we are now interested in the earlier use of black sand and goose quills.

The highway claims of the *All-Year-Samples* have increased so much in bulk that from the 64th fiscal year onward a second sampling had to be introduced—a few samples taken from all monthly groups of claims of each highway division of the state, of the headquarters, and of the progress reports. With this further reduction in the bulk of the salvaged claims, the quantity still is large, even though amounting only to about 8 per cent of the originals to the end of the 72d fiscal year. To reduce the bulk still further in order to conform to the limited available space, the salvaged claims are being prepared for microfilming; when this filming is finished, the originals will all be destroyed except the papers of the first two fiscal years and the few cartons of samples of controller's claims by years. Before this microfilming was considered, an attempt was made to find space for the discarded papers in some other state institution: the Bancroft Library, the economics department and the bureau of municipal research of the University of California had no available space, and the same condition was found in San Francisco.

Aside from the controller's claims, about 200 cartons of other controller papers have been released by him and the director of finance for destruction—correspondence of the 1920's to early 1940's (all earlier correspondence was long ago destroyed), copies of reports, reports of county auditors and treasurers, reports of other departments and agencies of which the controller was a member, tabulations of data to answer specific departmental questions, and similar papers. Lack of space demanded a reduction of their bulk. Only annual samples of the correspondence of these few years could be retained in order to indicate the nature of the correspondence carried on by the controller annually through this period. And only those papers, reports, and tabulations were saved which were not found to be duplicated by originals or copies in the various departments concerned. In many cases the departments were glad to receive some of the papers to fill out their own broken series and files.

Aside from the controller's claims and papers, only one other group of papers has been examined—the two sets of governor's papers in about 500 cartons, all of which are to be retained. So the only destruction of archive material made under the 1947 act has been confined to the controller's claims and papers. Spectacular as this destruction may seem, the bulk destroyed would have been very much greater had not the law made it possible for the secretary of state to have all the papers, authorized for destruction by the department head and the director of finance, pass through an investigation for their possible historical use a century or more in the future. Under the law the final word for destruction is now given only after this investigation has been completed. Were space not the limiting factor as to the quantity of material that might be saved, another method of reduction of the destroyable paper would naturally be used. It is unfortunate that so many of the claims had to be destroyed, but the limited space for storage left no alternative.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE INVOLVED

The present apparent "destruction of the archives" can best be understood by placing it in its historical relation to the loss of the archives in the earlier years. In the early days of the state, a great interest was taken in the archives, both those of the new state and of the former Spanish-Mexican government. The latter were objects of legislative action from 1850 to 1858: the securing of the Mexican archives in Monterey, their removal to the custody of the secretary of state, their final release to the federal government in 1858, and the transcription and translation of the land grant papers from 1866 to 1871.[4] For the state archives, the first legislative act, that of January 5, 1850,[5] provided for their acquisition from the state founded in 1849; and funds were later voted for their removal from San Jose to Vallejo, Benicia, and Sacramento.[6] During all these years the secretary of state was the custodian of these papers, and for them in 1889 funds were voted for the building of vault M in the capitol building; the vault was completed in 1891.[7] The archives then in the custody of the secretary of state were, in addition to the ones noted above, those of his own department and of the governor's office, together with some books of record of other departments principally of the controller and the treasurer. The other departments, and the new ones as created, were in charge of their own archives, and each determined in its own way what to retain and what to destroy. By tradition, all books of record were retained, but the papers, reports, correspondence, etc., were destroyed. It was not until April 13, 1927, that a check was placed on this indiscriminate destruction of departmental papers. On that date the legislature passed an act[8] providing that

> unless otherwise provided for by law, the head of any state department, with the approval of the Department of Finance, is hereby authorized to destroy or otherwise dispose of any or all records of such department, after they have served their purpose and are no longer required.

This law was re-enacted on July 15, 1939.[9]

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LEGISLATION

Such was the unorganized condition of the various archives of the state when the present secretary of state, Frank M. Jordan, then assistant secretary during his father's administration, became active in promoting legislation for the state archives. The first legislation, the state archives act, looking forward to the creation of a centralized depository, was passed on July 18, 1939.[10] In this act is found the legal beginnings of the conception of an all-state archives; the secretary of state was authorized to receive from a state agency or otherwise any papers or records "that he deems to be of historical value and shall receive into the archives any other items from a state agency if directed to do so by the State Department of Finance"; and he could, with the approval of the department of finance, at any time return to the agency from which it was received any item so received, which he did not deem of historical value. For the first time, the title of "keeper of the archives" was created. This act of 1939 thus widened on a voluntary basis the archives from a purely department of state archives to one that included the records of other departments, and for the first time indicated the factor of "historical value" with respect to the various records. It also laid the basis for the present archives, established by act of April 27, 1945[11] (*Government Code*, art. 4, sec. 12221), which declared the secretary of state to be custodian of the public archives of the state and provided for the necessary vault-space to care for them and for their indexing.

The acts of 1947, already mentioned, further widened the scope of the archives. On the basis of these acts, the two floors of the warehouse used merely as the depository of records are being changed into an archives. The papers stored in cartons filed on wooden shelves have been replaced by 10,534 legal-size steel cabinets and 5,600 steel cases for the controller's warrants; office space is provided for a small staff and for searchers and researchers; in a few months the transition from a warehouse to an archives will be completed, and as rapidly as the legislature provides funds for space and for more steel cases the records of the departments, divisions, and boards may be received. Some further legislation necessary for the full administration of the archives is under consideration.

At present, less than 50% of the state departments, divisions, boards, agencies, and establishments have deposited any papers, records or books with the archives; as soon as space permits and arrangements are completed, many of these agencies will relieve their own congested filing space by making transfers to the archives, and any destruction of papers and records will be done through the archives after these records and papers have been investigated for their historical value.

From the 1860's to 1927 the individual department, excluding the department of state, decided the question of destruction of records; fortunately by tradition the books of record were retained. An irretrievable loss to researchers was made in this destruction of historical papers. The departments judged the destruction wholly on the basis of the possible use by the departments alone, until a check was placed on the destruction of financial papers by the act of 1927. And even in the administration of these acts of 1927 and 1939, the approval of the director of finance for the destruction of papers was and is based (a) on whether all financial papers have been audited by his department and (b) on the desires of each departmental head for the destruction of all other papers, records and correspondence, etc.

In the present task of determining the historical value of the controller's claims and his other papers, contact was made with about one-quarter of the state departments, divisions, and boards in order to learn if original or duplicate copies of the papers concerned were in the files of these agencies. In these interviews it was learned that some of the departments have kept a great number of their papers and records from the beginning, a few keep practically everything, including correspondence, while a number discarded quantities of their papers prior to about 1930. At present there is no uniformity as to what is to be retained or for how long; and, as mentioned above, the only formal basis for the destruction of papers is whether financial papers have been audited. The present trend, based on the laws of 1945 and 1947, is to center in the archives all archival material of each department as determined by each department by the infrequency of use, and at the end of a legal limit for required preservation of papers, each department will designate those papers, if any, to be retained intact and all others consequently are to be discarded so far as the department is concerned. All the discarded papers of each department will be reviewed from the historical point of view and the discards from this inspection will be sent to the paper mill. But until space and steel cases are provided, the amount of discarded material is, unfortunately, larger than it should be.

By law, tradition, and the nature of the documents, the papers of the secretary of state are well preserved, as are also the cases of the Supreme Court. The papers of the legislature are intact for the first fiscal years, and an examination will no doubt find them intact for the later years. As mentioned above, the books of record for all departments, so far as examined, are preserved. All financial papers after auditing were approved for destruction until the last legislature placed a legal period of retention on all controller's claims and other papers. No legal limit of such retention has as yet been established for all departments, each deciding the question for itself—a tradition, however, places the period at 4, 5 and 7 years.

SUMMARY

In the early days, the secretary of state was the custodian of the archives; later he delegated the task to one of his clerks or to the state librarian; not until 1939 was a keeper of the state archives created, and he, working without assistance, had to handle the expanding archives until 1948. With the widening of the archives from the department of state to include all state departments, increased space and personnel have become imperative.

"Archives" formerly meant the papers of the secretary of state and of the governor; all other documents formed the files of the various departments. As the departments discarded what they individually regarded as surplus paper, no question was raised as to their possible historical value until the passage of the act of 1939. For ten years—since the act of 1939—the state has been gradually developing the state-wide archives, and on the basis of the act of 1947 has begun the organization of an archives administration. To carry out the provisions of this act with the funds available, and to make room, in the space now allotted to the archives, for the material that will come from the various departments, it is necessary to reduce the bulk of the papers discardable by law. As already mentioned, the only papers involved in the meeting of this limiting factor of space are the controller's claims. Instead of following the permissible provision of the law and destroying all claims released for destruction beyond the 15-year limitation, a review of these claims is made and by the sampling process described above about 8% of the whole bulk has been salvaged. When space and steel are available, this percentage of the salvaged claims can be raised.

Since 1939 the state has become increasingly conscious of the archives problem, and the department heads are gradually awakening to the historical value of their papers after the latter have served all department purposes.

NOTES

1. 1947 *Statutes,* 818, ch. 252.

2. 1947 *Statutes,* 3197, July 18, 1947.

3. No. 12 cartons, 24" x 15" x 11", were employed to hold documents until replaced by steel. They were used to hold the waste material; however, some "bread" cartons, 26" x 18" x 12", served for a few fiscal years, as did also empty sugar and flour bags for a part of two fiscal years—each bag held about 2/3 of a No. 12 carton. So the average carton for the whole task may be taken as a No. 12.

4. 1850 *Statutes,* 466, Joint Resolution, April 9, 1850. 1851 *Statutes,* 443, ch. 120, May 1, 1851. 1858 *Statutes,* 357, Joint Resolution, 23, April 16, 1858. 1865-66 *Statutes,* 312, ch. 281, March 20, 1866. 1867-68 *Statutes,* 672, ch. 500, March 30, 1868.

5. 1850 *Statutes,* 45, ch. 1.

6. 1852 *Statutes,* 54, ch. 17, January 20, 1852; 128, ch. 55, April 30, 1852; 284, Joint Resolution, January 16, 1852. 1853 *Statutes,* 270, ch. 172, May 18, 1853. 1863-64 *Statutes,* 191, ch. 194, March 18, 1864. 1865-66 *Statutes,* 312, ch. 281, March 20, 1866.

7. 1880 *Statutes,* 451, ch. 289, March 25, 1889.

8. 1927 *Statutes,* 234, ch. 126.

9. 1939 *Statutes,* 2314, ch. 784.

10. 1939 *Statutes,* 2396, ch. 823.

11. 1945 *Statutes,* 453, ch. 11.

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout

Translated and Edited By A. P. NASATIR

(Concluded)

XXI[83]

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER

Monterey, October 18, 1856

Monsieur le Ministre:

I ended the last despatch which I have had the honor of addressing to Your Excellency, *Direction Politique* No. 4,[85] by expressing myself as follows on the subject of the Vigilance Committee:

"This movement, wholly deplorable as it is because of its illegality, as for example when it shows contempt for the laws, will have good effects for the moment only, and unless the general government intervenes it will soon cease to exist, without other vexatious consequences for this country."

Vigilance Committee Dissolved. Your Excellency will have been informed that the federal government not having intervened and the party of law and order[86] having failed in a trial to have condemned by the United States district court two members of the committee accused of piracy,[87] all is ended peacefully. The committee is dissolved, its property has been sold, and the most perfect order reigns in San Francisco and environs.[88]

It is the third time that the inhabitants of San Francisco have had recourse to this extreme means for stopping great disorders, when imperfect laws or bad administration appeared powerless to stop the evil or punish the guilty.

Necessity for Lynch Law[89] *and Committees in the Nearby Occupied Provinces.* In this same despatch I also tried to demonstrate that, although regrettable and a very dangerous example for the future of the states with respect to licentiousness and anarchy, nevertheless these events did not have in this country either the same appearance or the same consequences that they would have had in Europe or in any other country. I shall add an observation which is not without importance, as much because of the imperfect judicial organization, already mentioned, as because of the incapacity and bad organization of the police in all the provinces newly occupied by the Americans, where, more than anywhere else, people dread and refuse the assistance of armed force; [where] these demonstrations of the masses, these summary executions by virtue of the lynch law or by order of the Vigilance Committee, are often imperiously necessary.

Insufficiency of the Police. I will remark in this regard that nowhere in these new countries is there sufficient police to maintain order and to protect the lives and property of the citizens. These agents, always too few in number even in the cities, are almost absolutely lacking in the villages, hamlets, [and] isolated places of the interior. To these faults I shall further add that, not exercising their duties outside of the localities where they have been named, in requiring extraordinary rewards, their action, always very onerous with respect to expenditures, is generally slow and ineffective. They can stop an evil doer, but never prevent any great disorders. They remain powerless before all organized bands.

It would be entirely otherwise if in these same provinces the people themselves, weary with the delays of justice, indignant at the audacity and impunity of the criminals, would rise en masse to deal vigorously with and to punish crime. Everything would happen then with an energy and a promptness which would strike with terror the most audacious evil doers. Thus it was that in 1849 they promptly put an end to the depredations of the "Hounds"; as well as to the assassinations of the convicts from Sidney in 1850 and '51. This observation applies equally to the cattle thieves, to whom a frequent application of lynch law in the interior in 1854 and 1855 brought prompt justice.[90]

Your Excellency should not think that I approve or am trying to excuse these illegal means which the people in their anger and haste have so often abused, and of which so many innocent persons have been victims; but since I am sketching the American manners of the country in which I reside, I am obliged to conform to the truth. These means, both on account of the state of the country and for the other causes which I have mentioned, seem to be really the only ones which can serve to reach the guilty, stop evil, and re-establish order and tranquility in the cities and counties.

In any case, these crises are only momentary. Already this famous committee of San Francisco, which for several months had governed in a most absolute manner, is no longer mentioned and in some ways entirely forgotten. But the impulsion which it gave to the action of the judicial courts, the terror which it inspired in the evil doers of all classes, the actions and the frauds of certain types of people which it unveiled, the order and peace which it re-established—all these are beginning to be appreciated as important facts [deeds] from which the people will draw much profit. From the reforms, violent and illegal but of wholesome effect, will begin to date a new generative era in more than one respect in California. One thing that no one can surely deny is that before the installation of the last committee all disorders were at their height; theft, pillage, assassination were the order of the day. Today everything progresses with more or less regularity; crimes are rare and San Francisco and its environs enjoy the most perfect peace.

The Committee Had No Political Ends.[91] As for the secret ambitions of political profits groundlessly attributed at one time to the Vigilance Committee, it is no longer a question, and no one here takes this fable seriously. The unanimous opinion among honest people is that the movement was directed only against disreputable people and criminals, that it was inspired only by spontaneous indignation on the part of the population; that it will have only beneficial consequences both for California and the other states in the Union, even if it be solely from the point of view of the reform of electoral frauds.

Presidential Elections. The coming presidential, legislative, and municipal elections,[92] especially those of the first named, appear to absorb everyone today. For a month or six weeks, there has taken place an extraordinary movement among all parties. Their agents and their agitators are at work, committees, clubs of all colors [political faiths] are prominent over the whole length of the country. The meetings are sometimes secret, sometimes public. Everywhere people are gathered in assembly. I believe I ought to point out that in this respect everyone in the United States is occupied with public things; and to facilitate the participation of all classes of the population, meetings of committees, clubs, and mass meetings take place in the evening after cessation of work.

Here, as in the other states of the Union, three parties are disputing preëminence today and are hoping to elevate their candidates to the presidency. Each of these parties is making its efforts correspond with those of their co-religionists [*corelegionnaires*] of the other states, as well as with those of the cities or counties of this region, so as to bring about the nomination of its candidates to the vacant public offices. This electoral chase runs over every degree of the scale from the high functions of senators and representatives at Washington to the administrative, legislative, and municipal offices of the state.

Democratic Party. Until 1855 the first in line, the Democratic party, has been the most numerous and the most influential in this country. This party is divided into two camps which can be classified as interested and disinterested. The latter attach themselves to the party and love it for itself; that is to say, for its name and its principles. They are in favor of self-government, jealous of the general [federal] government; and, always fearing some usurpation of power, they work constantly to lessen the central power. The end to which they hold constantly and which they avow, is the almost absolute independence of the states in the federation, and the independence of the *commune* within the state.

As for the other division, the interested ones, they are composed of several series, namely: (1) all the employees of the federal government at the custom house, at the post office, etc., who have no other hope for keeping their places than by maintaining in power the party to which they belong; (2) all the Democratic employees of the state, counties, and cities, who, in case of success, divide the profits thus gained with those who owe their nominations to them in the legislature, judiciary, and municipality, etc.

Aside from these classes, there are today a considerable number of persons who have joined this party through consideration for its presidential candidate, Mr. Buchanan, whom they judge to be the most capable man to take the direction of affairs in this difficult moment and to maintain the Union of the states.

The great fault of the party, especially in this country, is that it is too old, has only the same men to put forward, can offer no bait to new candidates, and yet finds it impossible to satisfy all the old demands. The Democratic party does not know how to appease the thirst of all the ambitious persons, the numerous office hunters, politicians, orators, election swindlers, nearly all disreputable and corrupt men who for five or six years have shared the public offices as well as the revenues of the state. It is menaced with a schism, and if the news from the Atlantic continues to be favorable to the Republican party, it will probably undergo a serious defection, even in the ranks of its oldest partisans and most intense members.

Republican Party. This party is new in this country and has for its first nucleus all the abolitionists of the North, who, guided only by fanatical, extremely violent sentiments, demand the abolition of slavery *quand même*.

To this party are joined the Know Nothings, the conservatives, especially those who, without formally stipulating the abolition of slavery in the states where it exists, wish to stop the extension of this plague of the Union.

In California it also includes a great number of partisans not in sympathy with its principles, but who are tired of the disorders which reign in this country and desire its moral reform [through] the election of honest men, in order to put an end to the spoliation, the thefts and corruption, so general and so disgusting, of the preceding administrations.

The Republican party also has the sympathy of all those who desire internal improvements or the establishment of the railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and who in this country depend only upon the election of Mr. Frémont[93] for the prompt execution of this national work so important for California.[94] Reinforced by all these auxiliaries, this party is already very numerous, and, if it does not triumph, it will dispute very closely with the Democratic party for the election of President, as well as for the nominations to the administrative and municipal offices of the state.

Party of Know Nothings.[95] This party today no longer enjoys the advantages which last year permitted it to win the nomination for governor and for several magistrates and legislators. Its influence and its credit are much diminished. This check is principally due to the fact that the greater part of its elected men, even the most notable, have openly rivalled in incapacity and immorality those of the party to which they were the successors and called themselves the regenerators.

Today, discontent against this party is general. Those who without sharing its principles had accorded it a temporary support, in the hope of seeing it realize some reforms, are deserting it with the intention of going to swell the ranks of the Republican party. The increase which the Democratic party gains from this defection is trifling enough. The expected retirement of Mr. Fillmore will be the signal for a general collapse.[96]

Consequently, the struggle in this state is restricted to the two parties, the Democratic and the Republican. At present it is impossible to say which will win. Both parties are making unheard of endeavors. They are sparing neither work nor expense. Everything depends upon the news which will be received from the eastern states by the next mail; for a very large *avant-partie* [vanguard], of whose antecedents there has been no mention, is made up of persons indifferent as to political principles or profession, which they change according to circumstances. In great contests these people, who obey only the inspiration of purest egotism, never decide until the last moment and [then] always in favor of the strongest or the most favored.

Position of California in the Case of a Civil War.[97] I shall not touch here upon the great political questions which are preoccupying public attention in the United States at this time. According to certain competent men they are pregnant with a civil war, the first act of which would be the rupture of the Union. In the two principal and great divisions, the North and the South, it is easy to recognize factions so excited that to attain their ends they would not dare to be deterred by fear of consequences. One of these factions and that which can be designated by the title of pure abolitionists [is] capable of losing all precaution in the pursuit of its aims. The retirement of Fillmore, if it takes place, will considerably increase this faction of the Republican party. Nevertheless, it is doubtful if these exalted ones can carry with them the mass of the Republicans or of the inhabitants of the North.

The other faction, more deserving of the name of party for it counts all the inhabitants of the slave states without exception or dissent, is neither less excited nor less formidable. Its force resides principally in the unanimity of the views and sentiments which inspire it. The phantom of disunion frightens this faction less than it frightens the North. The men of the South will perhaps be more prompt than their antagonists to provoke a rupture; and the first day of hostilities will find them united as one man.

The state of California is less interested in these debates than any other state in the Union. It feels that slavery is an impossibility here, for the simple reason that it would be more detrimental than it would be useful. In 1849, it was rejected unanimously by the constituents.[98] As emigrants from all the states of the Union and from all the nations of the earth have formed in California a medley of workers, the question of slavery is much less likely to be agitated and to create great animosities, for we have here only a very small number either of abolitionists or of men from the South interested in maintaining and extending slavery. Their influence is almost nil.

California is not absolutely indifferent; but that she is less agitated by these important questions than the other states of the Union is a fact easy to attest. Cannot one look for the cause of this almost indifferent attitude of California in the fact that, isolated and exiled so far, it has an existence of special interests almost entirely outside of those which occupy so many of the other states—[an existence] for which the future prepares a development on a large scale.

No one among the Americans here is indifferent to the events which are approaching a crisis, for all wish to preserve the Union. But without agitating yet as to the question of their particular position, everyone feels that neither the separation of the states nor the maintenance of their Union would affect it very directly. The first of these events could, at most, only awaken the idea of independence in this part of the country. As I have had the honor of saying, it is not only that public opinion is preoccupied with its eventuality at this hour, but it is very probable that it [the public] is sleeping with a secret state in the background of more than one mind, and that the events which they fear, if Mr. Frémont is elected, would not be realized. In fact, it is very probable that if civil war should break out between the states of the North and the South, California would continue peacefully the exploitation of its mines and its numerous other resources, and would venture its independence if the separation of the states was irrevocably proclaimed.

Many people think that if Mr. Frémont is elected, the South will hold a convention and will declare itself [independent?], or will separate itself provisionally from the North. In this attitude it will await the propositions of the North, which will probably lead to the reestablishment of the old compromise, latitude 36° 30 N, as the limit of the slave states.

Accept the homage of respect with which I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre, Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant.

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XXII[99]

Brevet de Vice Consul de France à Los Angeles
pour le Sieur Moerenhout (Jacques Antoine), Consul Honoraire

In the name of His Majesty,
the Emperor of the French

We, Abel Frédéric Gautier,[100] chevalier of the Imperial Order of the

Legion of Honor, commander and chevalier of many foreign orders, consul of the first class, consul of France with residence at San Francisco, invested by article 39, title VI, of the ordinance of August 20, 1833, with the right of delegating agents in our consular arrondissement, having judged useful for the good of the service to provide for the employment of a vice consul of France at Los Angeles, county of Los Angeles, state of California, have by the virtue of the special authority given to us to that effect by the *Ministre Sécrétaire d'État* in the department of foreign affairs under date of May 26, 1859, named, commissioned and delegated in the capacity of vice consul of France at Los Angeles, Sieur Jacques Antoine Moerenhout, honorary consul, with a view to act in that capacity, under our direction, and conforming to the dispositions of the laws, ordinances, decisions, and instructions for all that concerns the interests and the protection of the navigators, merchants and other French citizens in the above mentioned place. In consequence of these, we beg and request the competent authorities to recognize and have recognized the said Sieur Jacques Antoine Moerenhout, honorary consul, in the above stated capacity of vice consul of France, assuring him the free exercise of his functions, allowing him to enjoy all the privileges which are attached thereunto, and giving him, in short, all aid, assistance, and protection everywhere and in every circumstance in which there may be need.

In faith of which we have signed the present *brevet* and have hereunto fixed the official seal of the consulate of France at this residence.

Done at San Francisco, August 17, 1859
For the Consul
Le Chancelier [Seal][101] The Consul
Ant. Forest [rubric] Fred. Gautier [rubric]

XXIII[102]

Minister to Moerenhout

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères Paris, September 13, 1877
Direction Politique, No. 1

Monsieur:

I have received the reports which you sent me under date of August 15 and 16, last, under the seal of *Direction Politique*, concerning the economic crisis that the United States has just passed through, and which, in certain parts of the country of your residence, has taken on a particular character of gravity. I thank you for these new details, which have been added usefully to the ensemble of information which I had already had from our various agents in the United States.

Receive, Monsieur, the assurance of my distinguished consideration,

Decarcy [?][103] [rubric]

Addressed:
Monsieur Moerenhout, Agent, Vice Consul de France à Los Angeles

XXIV[104]

MINISTER TO MOERENHOUT

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères Paris, November 19, 1877
Direction des Consulats et Affaires Commerciales, No. 5

Your correspondence under the seal of *Direction des Consulats et Affaires Commerciales* up to the date of August 12, last, has reached me, Monsieur, and I thank you for the information which it contains.

I especially appreciate your *mémoire*, dated July 21, concerning the railroads exploited or projected in California, notably the line which links San Francisco with Fort Yuma.[105] This *mémoire* is a continuation of the one that you had sent me dated September 10, 1876. They have been sent to *M. le Ministre des Travaux Publics*, and M. Paris[106] [has] notified me that he had taken note with interest of these communications, which included indications useful to his administration.

Your report dated May 16, on the economic situation of the county of Los Angeles, furnished varied information which I have sent to *M. le Ministre de l'Agriculture et du Commerce.*

On the other hand, I can only invite you to continue to keep me informed of the commercial operations which French vessels, such as the three-masted *Cail,* would find advantage in effecting [*à effectuer*] in the ports of Southern California.

Receive, Monsieur, the assurance of my perfect consideration,

Duan [?] [rubric]

Addressed:
Monsieur Moerenhout, Agent, Vice Consul de France à Los Angeles

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XXV[107]

MINISTER TO MOERENHOUT

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères Paris, May 20, 1879
Direction des Consulats et Affaires Commerciales
Monsieur:

Considerations of service and budgetary necessities have determined me to propose to *M. le Président de la République* the suppression of the remunerative vice-consulat of Los Angeles, of which you are the incumbent. I have the honor of announcing to you that this disposition has been sanctioned by a decree dated the thirtieth of January, last.

Despite the length of your services, you are not in a position required by law to obtain a retiring pension; but, desiring to regulate your situation as favorably as possible, I have decided that you will enjoy a special salary, the figure of which will be sent to you under the seal of the *Division des Fonds et de la Comptabilité.*

At this moment when you cease belonging to active service, I am pleased to recognize, Monsieur, that you have constantly acquitted your functions in the most honorable manner during your long career.

Receive, Monsieur, the assurances of my perfect consideration,

Addressed: Waddington[108] [rubric]

Monsieur Moerenhout, Agent, Vice Consul de France à Los Angeles

XXVI[109]

Waddington to Forest

(Copy) Paris, December 16, 1879

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
Division des Fonds et de la Comptabilité

Monsieur:

I received the letter of November 6th, last, in which you transmit to me, in support of your recommendation, the request presented by Mme. Philip, daughter of Mr. Moerenhout, deceased consular agent of France at Los Angeles the 11th of July of this year.

I regret, Monsieur, that the resources of my department do not permit me to indemnify this woman, as you solicit in her favor, for the funeral expenses that she had to sustain. I decided, however, that an incidental aid of five hundred francs (500 fr.) to be paid at one time should be accorded to her. I beg you to please send her the said sum, which sum you will enter in your next account of expenses for the service, you being careful to include with it the receipt of the payee [*partie prenante*].

Receive, etc., etc.

Addressed: [signed] Waddington
Monsieur Forest Pour copie conforme
Consul de France à San Francisco The Consul of France
Ant. Forest [rubric]

NOTES

83. Correspondance Politique, Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 115, folios 209-14, *verso*.

84. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey, No. 5. Direction Politique.

85. Moerenhout's last despatch is Direction Politique, No. 4 (Document XX in preceding Quarterly, pp. 73-78). The quotation here is not the exact wording of the original.

86. On the Law and Order party, see Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals, op. cit.*, II, 141-60.

87. *Idem*, 501-12, for the arrest and trial of Durkee and Rand for piracy.

88. See note 82 above. The final adjournment and sale of property of the Vigilance Committee of 1856 is described in Bancroft, *idem*, 526-47. For a discussion of the People's party, see Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 650 ff.

89. An account of lynch law in the mines in an earlier period is given by the same author, *idem*, 272-309. See also, C. H. Shinn, *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885), pp. 227-31.

90. Hittell, *idem*, 460 ff.; and, although applying in the main to the earlier period, see Williams, *op. cit.*, 386-87, 434-37.

91. But the committee organized the People's party soon after (Williams, *op. cit.*, 403-404).

92. Concerning politics and the election of 1856, see Bancroft, *History of California*, *op. cit.*, VI, 697-704; Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 650 ff., and IV, 172-94; Hurt, note 45 above; W. J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-92* (Sacramento, 1893), pp. 50 ff.

93. Allan Nevins, *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West* (New York, 1939), pp. 439 ff.; also, Cardinal Goodwin, *John Charles Frémont* (Stanford University, 1930), pp. 197 ff.

94. On the issue of a transcontinental railroad, see Ellison, note 81 above, pp. 136 ff.

95. Hurt, *loc. cit.*

96. Fillmore did not retire, and Buchanan decisively carried California in the election in Nov. 1856.

97. On the Civil War and California, see Ellison, *op. cit.*, 178 ff.

98. See Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California Rural Society," this QUARTERLY, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 194 ff.; also Duniway, note 74 above.

99. Original in Clinton Collection.

100. Cf. Lévy, note 49 above, p. 164, 355.

101. Seal of the French consulate at San Francisco.

102. Original in Clinton Collection.

103. Decazes, Louis-Charles-Élie, Duc de Glücksberg (1819-1886) was minister of foreign affairs, 1873-1877.

104. Original in Clinton Collection.

105. See Lewis B. Lesley, "A Southern Transcontinental Railroad into California: Texas and Pacific *versus* Southern Pacific, 1865-1885," *Pacific Historical Review*, V (March 1936), 52-60; and Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 611-13.

106. Auguste Joseph Paris (1826-1896), minister of public works in the Broglie ministry, 1877.

107. Original in Clinton Collection.

108. William Henry Waddington (1826-1894), minister of foreign affairs in the Dufaure government, Dec. 1877-Feb. 1879.

109. Original in Clinton Collection.

Costs of the Modoc War

By Richard H. Dillon

IT IS NO SURPRISE that the story of the Modoc War has been distorted and its casualty lists over-estimated, involving as it did a fight against overwhelming odds in a volcanic slag-heap of twisted lava, cut by chasms and ridges. To the troops involved it was a nightmare; and even in the typically restrained and unemotional vocabulary of the official military report, we can detect some of the awe and respect awakened in the army by the fighting prowess of the little band of Modoc warriors led by Captain Jack. Maj. Gen. J. M. Schofield, in his report to the assistant adjutant general, Col. William D. Whipple, on November 3, 1873, wrote: "The Department of the Columbia has been the scene of a conflict more remarkable in some respects than any other before known in American history."[1]

This campaign, the only major Indian war fought in California, may be said to have been rivaled only by the Seminole wars of Florida in its drama of a small band of savages holding back—or rather *driving* back—the military forces, many times larger than their own number, sent against them by the United States government. There have been varying estimates of the cost, in lives and in dollars, of the Modoc War stated in books and magazines from the 1870's to the present. The money cost has been placed as high as a million dollars by some. Doris Palmer Payne writes:

> . . . what a cost! Close to a million dollars in the currency of the day . . . seventeen of these braves were now dead having succumbed to bullets, shell fire or gallows. Yet for each of these redskins, the government had sacrificed the lives of at least a dozen men. During the whole campaign the total number of soldiers, volunteers and civilians killed by the Modocs ran into the hundreds . . . in fact, almost as many were killed in battle on the American side as in the whole Spanish American War![2]

A figure as high as this can be arrived at by (1) estimating the amount of damage to persons, property, crops, and so forth; (2) adding the cost of participation by the state of California which came to $4,441.33[3]; and (3) carrying the case against the Modocs back to their earliest depredations in the area.

As to the cost in lives, we have seen that Miss Payne says that "for each of these 17 redskins, the government had sacrificed the lives of at least a dozen men"; this would place her figure at 204. The official National Park Service pamphlet, *Lava Beds National Monument*, contents itself with saying on page 4 that "a small group of Modoc Indians, under the leadership of Captain Jack, repeatedly repulsed far superior numbers of United States soldiers and inflicted grave losses while sustaining practically none themselves." Another writer has reported that "during this war, which continued from November 18, 1872 to June 1, 1873, more than 450 white soldiers were killed, with but few casualties suffered by the red men."[4]

The number of Modocs engaged in the lava-beds fighting, if we limit the period to the years 1872-73, is more closely agreed upon. Jeff Riddle, the son of Wi-ne-ma and Frank Riddle who were the government interpreters in the Modoc War, places the figure at exactly 52 warriors.[5] Miss Payne has the total at 53 Modoc combatants,[6] the same figure as that of A. B. Meacham.[7] The National Park Service pamphlet, quoted above, records on page 3 that the "small number of Modocs whose force totaled about 175, of which only about one-third were classed as warriors, prompted a feeling that the hostiles would be subdued easily."

It is only when we go to documentary sources that we find a clear picture of the Modoc War, a picture not befogged with romanticism and legend. Robert Allen, assistant quartermaster-general, wrote from the presidio of San Francisco, February 16, 1874: "The cost of the Modoc War to the Quartermaster's Department was $355,000 more than it would have been if no outbreak had occurred."[8] This first estimate of costs was later revised by M. C. Meigs, quartermaster-general, who on June 26, 1874, sent the following communication to the secretary of war:

> Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith detailed statements of the cost to the Quartermaster's Department of the Modoc War, giving names of persons, &c., paid and remaining unpaid, as required by request of the House Military Committee of May 9, 1874 (copy herewith returned) amounting in the aggregate to $411,068.18.
>
> The expenditure, as shown by these statements, is $56,000 greater than that reported by Gen. Robert Allen, February 7, 1874 and which was communicated from this office to Hon. James W. Nesmith, member of Congress, on that date.
>
> These statements have just come to hand. It was impracticable to obtain them in time to present to Congress before adjournment.
>
> I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
>
> M. C. Meigs
> Quartermaster-General, U.S.A.[9]

The Indian wars aroused nation-wide concern in the 1870's, and, since the death toll was reputed to be very high, Congress requested information on the number of Indians and troops killed during the year 1873. Edward P. Smith, commissioner of Indian affairs, in answer to a senate resolution of March 19, 1874, requesting this information, prepared a circular and summed up the figures as follows:[10]

Indians captured by United States troops	227
Indians killed by United States troops	405
Citizens killed by Indians	44
Soldiers killed by Indians	48

Of this number, Commissioner Smith lists the Oregon-California lava-beds total as 27 Modocs captured, mostly women and children, and 18 Modocs killed, including 7 men, 8 women, and 3 children. When the list of citizens and soldiers killed is broken down we find the toll to include: one general (E. R. S. Canby); one peace commissioner; one captain; 5 lieutenants; 4 sergeants; 4 corporals; 3 buglers; 24 privates; one cavalryman, no rank given; one artilleryman, no rank given; one packer; two members of the First Oregon Volunteers; three citizens, and two Indian scouts.

It would certainly appear from these figures that the Modocs tried to make every shot count by concentrating their fire upon the leaders of the army force and inflicting heavy casualties upon them, in comparison with the toll they exacted from the much more numerous privates. Fabulous stories of the marksmanship of the Modoc warriors have been told, and this casualty list, by rank, would seem to bear out these claims. Jeff Riddle says that in the first three days of fighting every trooper-casualty was hit either in the head or the neck.[11]

In this same casualty report of Smith's, compiled for 1873, we find the break-down of units involved in the lava-beds campaign: First Oregon Volunteers, First Cavalry, Twelfth Infantry, Twenty First Infantry, and Fourth Artillery. All of the 50 men killed in the Modoc actions fell during the months of April and May 1873, starting with the murder of Gen. E. R. S. Canby and the peace commissioner, Rev. E. Thomas, on April 11. As to the number of Modocs involved in the lava-beds war, Gen. A. C. Gillem, who commanded the troops in the Modoc area, wrote:

> Since the termination of the Modoc war I wrote to Dr. McElderry to learn the number of Modoc warriors engaged during that war, and how many of them were killed, to which he replied as follows, viz:
>
> Your note of inquiry in regard to the number of Indians killed from the 11th April to the end of the Modoc war, is at hand. The Modocs, themselves, while at this post, (Fort Klamath,) said that they had lost 5 warriors during that time, viz: 3 killed during the three day's fight, (2 by explosion of a shell, and 1 by rifle ball,) 1 killed at Sorass Lake, and 1 at the time of the Thomas massacre. They stated that several old squaws were killed during the three day's fight. There were forty warriors at this post belonging to the tribe. This corresponds to the account of Dorris and Fairchild, both of whom, you remember, always contended that this was the actual number of fighting warriors belonging to the Modoc tribe.[12]

It will be seen from certain of the excerpts quoted above that the temptation to overstate the case for the Modoc War has been yielded to by some authors. Such overstatement was not necessary, for the terse official communiques themselves manifest the uniqueness of this savage campaign.

NOTES

1. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 2 (rep't, sec'y war), p. 52.
2. Doris Palmer Payne, *Captain Jack, Modoc Renegade* (Portland, Ore., 1938), pp. 255-56.
3. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VII, 457.

4. Kay Campbell, "Lava Beds National Monument," *Pacific Pathways* (June, 1947), p. 7.

5. Jeff C. Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (San Francisco: privately printed, 1914), p. 3.

6. Payne, *loc. cit.*

7. A. B. Meacham, *Wi-Ne-Ma* (Hartford, 1876), p. 137.

8. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 185, p. 4.

9. 43d Cong., 2d sess., H. Ex. Doc. 131, p. 1.

10. 43d Cong., 2d sess., S. Ex. Doc. 22, p. 2.

11. Riddle, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

12. 44th Cong., S. spec. sess., S. Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 17-18.

The Mythical Johnston Conspiracy

By Benjamin F. Gilbert

THE Southerner, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, in command of the U.S. department of the Pacific on the eve of the Civil War, was charged with traitorous designs against the government while in the service of the army. Suspicion and distrust pervaded the nation, and it sometimes happened that innocent men were charged by their contemporaries with treachery. It is the purpose of this article to show why General Johnston should be freed from such charges. Before relating the circumstances in the case, a brief account of the man's career is given.

Johnston was born on February 2, 1803, in the village of Washington, Mason County, Kentucky. Upon reaching young manhood, he wanted to enter the navy, but, yielding to parental influence, he agreed to attend Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. In 1822 he received an appointment to West Point, and graduated four years later, ranking eighth in a class of forty-one.

His first experience as a soldier in the field was during the Black Hawk War of 1832. Two years later he resigned from the army, but, when the Texan revolt began against Mexico, he joined the independence forces, rose to the rank of adjutant-general of the Texan army, and later became secretary of war of the Republic of Texas. Poor health forced him to resign his post; however, the outbreak of the Mexican War saw him answer Zachary Taylor's call for volunteers. At the disbandment of his regiment, he retired to his plantation in Brazoria County, Texas, but late in 1851 we find him again in the army, and, as commander of the army of Utah in 1857, ably handling the Mormon difficulties from his headquarters at Camp Floyd.[1]

In 1860, when the sectional and slavery controversy was intense, Johnston was offered the command of the department of the southwest. This he refused, as he feared the secession of Texas which he considered his adopted state, and he did not desire to be disloyal to a government having confidence in him. With the support of Gen. Winfield Scott, he received an assignment to command the Pacific department. Accordingly, on December 21, 1860, Johnston and his family sailed from New York for San Francisco by way of the Panama route. He reached San Francisco on January 14, 1861, and took command of his new post.[2] The following April ninth he resigned his commission. His letter to Col. Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general, reads as follows:

> I have the honor to tender the resignation of my commission in the Army of the United States, and to request that it may be submitted to the President for his action; and I have also respectfully to ask that my successor may be appointed and ordered to relieve me as soon as practicable.[3]

RUMORS OF CONFEDERATE PLOTS

In the early months of 1861, prior to the firing on Fort Sumter, various rumors were spread of a plot to conquer California from within and to force the state to secede from the Union.[4] It was in connection with such a plot in the San Francisco Bay area that the name of Johnston was maltreated. The abuses of his name by contemporary political propagandists or alarmists are perhaps excusable, as the slander was made during a period of war fervor, but the later acceptance of the myth of a Johnston conspiracy cannot be justified.

As the story is usually told, the secessionist leaders had placed Johnston in command of the department of the Pacific so that he could carry California out of the Union by a series of moves, which contemplated the capture of Fort Alcatraz, the conversion of the military forces in California into a secessionist army, and the organization of a Pacific republic. This independent nation, if not actually supporting the South, was at least to be a benevolent neutral in its relations with the Confederate States.

William Preston Johnston, in a biography of his father, would seem to have proved his innocence from the charges of disloyalty and treason by presenting an array of evidence. He stated that his father was told by a group of Republicans in San Francisco of a plot to form a Pacific republic. General Johnston replied that he hoped it was untrue, but he quietly undertook precautionary measures to frustrate any attempt at an insurrection. Several thousand arms were removed from the exposed arsenal at Benicia and were placed in the impregnable Fort Alcatraz. Johnston also informed Gov. John G. Downey of the possibility of an insurrection, and told him that arms would be at the disposal of the state militia.[5]

In 1894, the McClatchy brothers, owners of the Sacramento *Bee*, wrote and published a souvenir history of the city of Sacramento, in which it was said that, at the bedside of Edmund Randolph, James McClatchy, editor of the *Bee*, had learned that Johnston intended to turn military stores over to the rebels. The Pony Express was scheduled to leave that night, and, according to the souvenir history, McClatchy immediately dispatched a letter to Edward D. Baker, U.S. senator from Oregon. He informed Baker of the conspiracy, and demanded the removal of Johnston. On receipt of the letter, Baker visited President Lincoln who called a cabinet meeting. General Sumner was "then and there" ordered to take command of the department of the Pacific and "to dispossess Johnston." The McClatchy account went on to say that General Sumner hastened to California and demanded that Johnston relinquish his command; Johnston requested a delay, which Sumner refused; the Civil War broke out shortly afterwards, whereupon Johnston left to join the Confederate army, California, according to the *Bee's* owners, being thus saved for the Union.[6]

THE ASBURY HARPENDING CONSPIRACY

In writing his father's biography, William Preston Johnston doubted the reality of secessionist plots in California. However, Asbury Harpending, instigator of a Confederate privateering venture in 1863, has revealed in his reminiscences that he himself was a member of a secret society of Southern sympathizers which planned to force California to secede. All members, with a "General" at the head, were under oath, and absolute secrecy pervaded the society. Meetings were called by word of mouth, all transactions being burned. Each member organized a contingent of a hundred men disguised as ordinary workmen. Their plans included the capture of Fort Point, Fort Alcatraz, the navy yard at Mare Island, the arsenal at Benicia, and the militia arsenals at San Francisco. After capturing a supply of military equipment, an army of Southerners was to organize a Pacific republic as a preliminary step in aiding the Confederacy.[7]

A committee of three from this secessionist society called on General Johnston in the hope of receiving some information which might aid them in executing their plans. However, before the meeting had hardly begun, Johnston, as quoted by Harpending in his reminiscences, said:

> There is something I want to mention. I have heard foolish talk about an attempt to seize the strongholds of the government under my charge. Knowing this, I have prepared for emergencies, and will defend the property of the United States with every resource at my command, and with the last drop of blood in my body. Tell that to all our Southern friends.[8]

This frank statement surprised the secessionists, and they sat through the remainder of the meeting like "a lot of petrified stoten-bottles." Johnston started a general conversation, and, after an hour, the disheartened men left. The loyalty of Johnston to the United States was something the group had not counted on, and the secret society was abandoned.

Although a secession plot did exist during the time of Johnston's command in the Pacific department, the McClatchy story of the former's involvement has no supporting evidence. Randolph, the informer in the account, was very outspoken. He was a lawyer of San Francisco, was descended from the Randolphs of Virginia, and with the approach of the national crisis had become a rabid secessionist. As a member of Harpending's secret society he had, with neither the knowledge nor sanction of the other members, approached General Johnston with some questionable proposition. Whether the proposal was a request for aid to the secret society or not, is not known, but whatever it was, Johnston's answer made Randolph infuriated. He now engaged in loose talk, and told the secret society that their cause was lost. Harpending's reminiscences show that Randolph was actually demented, and in that condition he had written a letter to President Lincoln telling him of a conspiracy and questioning the loyalty of Johnston. Whether Randolph told McClatchy or wrote a letter to Lincoln are matters for speculation, but the origin of the myth of a Johnston conspiracy can perhaps be attributed to Randolph's talkativeness and to his indignation toward Johnston. After the outbreak of the Civil War, Randolph became a propagandist and delivered pro-Confederate speeches of an inflammatory character.[9] Within a year, on September 8, 1861, he died at the young age of forty-two, a complete mental and physical wreck.[10]

In the biography of his friend, Col. Edward D. Baker, Elijah Kennedy supported the story of a Johnston conspiracy. He claimed that immediately after Lincoln's victory in the presidential election of 1860, Sen. William M. Gwin of California left for Washington, D.C. Buchanan was still President, and the secessionists had no time to lose. Gwin impressed the secretary of war, John B. Floyd, with the need for removing officers loyal to the United States. Thus Kennedy implied that Johnston was put in command of the department of the Pacific to win California for secession; but Baker's hasty demand for the removal of Johnston and Lincoln's trust in Baker, had, according to this story, saved the Pacific coast for the Union.[11]

JOHNSTON'S REMOVAL

In his reminiscences, Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes describes a meeting held on March 22, 1861, in the war department between himself, Gen. Winfield Scott, and Secretary of State William H. Seward. In a strictly confidential remark, Secretary Seward stated that he had received information from Sen. James W. Nesmith of Oregon to the effect that General Johnston was not faithful to the Union. Keyes's opinion of Johnston was asked, and he said, "I had known and respected him as an honorable gentleman, believed him to be a Democrat, but could not say whether he was a Secessionist or not."[12] Upon the suggestion of Seward, it was decided that Keyes should be sent to investigate affairs on the Pacific coast; but General Scott, fearful that Keyes would remove Johnston on the slightest grounds in order to advance his friend, Col. George Wright, to the command, refused to permit the investigation. The following morning General Scott requested Gen. Edwin V. Sumner to leave for San Francisco without delay to assume command. According to Keyes, the order was approved by the cabinet in a secret session.[13] It is dated Washington, D.C., March 23, 1861, and reads as follows:

> Brigadier-General Sumner will, without delay, repair to San Francisco and relieve Brevet-Brigadier-General Johnston in command of the Department of the Pacific, whereupon the latter will return to Washington to receive further orders.[14]

It is true that Johnston believed in states' rights, but he remained faithful to the Union until he returned to the South. When Texas seceded, Johnston sent a letter (dated April 9, 1861, as mentioned above) to the war department giving notice of the resignation of his commission. He concealed his resignation until the arrival of Sumner, so as not to weaken the morale of his troops nor encourage a revolt of Southerners in California.[15] The Mc-

Clatchy story failed to mention Johnston's resignation; and the statement that Sumner's arrival was a shock to Johnston is without foundation.

Another error in the McClatchy story is the statement that Sumner demanded the release of Johnston immediately upon his arrival in San Francisco. Johnston's son and biographer quoted a contemporary newspaper on the incident:

> The eager thousands who thronged the streets hardly noticed the momentary pause of the steamer when passing Fort Alcatraz, nor did they note the little boat that shot out from her side toward the island; yet that tiny boat bore General Sumner, who, in a few minutes, stood before the commander, and, as his superior in rank, and under special orders from the President, assumed command of Fort Alcatraz[;] California was saved to the Union.[16]

This is the type of fabrication indulged in by some Northern newspapers. The truth is that Sumner disembarked with the other passengers at the harbor, and did not visit Johnston until the next day at noon. Then the command was turned over to Sumner. He expressed gratitude over his predecessor's command, and asked his advice. An extract from General Sumner's report of April 28, 1861, to the assistant adjutant-general, reveals the truth of Johnston's release:

> I have the honor to report that I arrived here on the 24th instant, and on the 25th relieved General Johnston in command of this department. My departure from New York was not known here till the night before my arrival. It gives me pleasure to state that the command was turned over to me in good order. General Johnston had forwarded his resignation before I arrived, but he continued to hold the command, and was carrying out the orders of the Government.[17]

An article[18] published as late as 1940 quoted from a biographical sketch of Col. Orlando H. Moore which asserted that Moore, then a lieutenant, was selected by the government as the leader of a secret mission to investigate General Johnston. The biographer portrayed her father as the person who uncovered a plot to seize the Benicia barracks, the Mare Island navy yard, Fort Point, and Fort Alcatraz, and that he revealed it to officials in Washington; that General Sumner arrived at Benicia just in time to save California, Oregon, and Nevada for the Union, and that he relieved Johnston of his command within an hour of his arrival.[19] The facts would indicate that there were few officials in California who sympathized with secession, and that there was no secret society plotting *in cooperation* with General Johnston. Furthermore, Sumner did not arrive in Benicia, but at San Francisco.

In his reminiscences, Caspar T. Hopkins likewise alluded to a conspiracy, but gave another version of the story.[20] He claimed that Johnston had not been informed of his replacement, that he felt his honor had been abused, and thus had resigned his commission. It might be remarked here that Johnston certainly was not surprised by his replacement, which he virtually requested by his much earlier resignation.

One other account should be presented to portray the extent to which fiction had been employed in connection with the Johnston episode. George Henry Pettis, who had been a first lieutenant with the First California Infantry during the Civil War, read a paper in Providence, Rhode Island, at a meeting of a local historical society in 1885 in which he stated that malicious traitors officered the regular army in California and on the warship *U.S.S. Wyoming*, lying in San Francisco harbor. He related that Sumner upon arriving in San Francisco rushed to the army headquarters on Washington Street and saved California from a fate worse than "all those long four years of the war" by demanding: " 'Is this Gen. Johnston.' " " 'Yes, sir.' " " 'I am General E. V. Sumner, United States Army, and do now relieve you of the command of this department. . . .' "[21]

JOHNSTON'S DEPARTURE

Sumner's order to relieve Johnston also ordered the latter to report to Washington. Johnston was told by letter that he had the confidence of the secretary of war, and would receive an important command upon his arrival in Washington. Upon hearing of Johnston's resignation, Sumner urged its recall and told Johnston of General Scott's desire for his presence in active service.[22]

However, Johnston decided to enter the service of the Confederate army. He received notice of the acceptance of his resignation from the U.S. army on May 3, 1861. An order for his arrest, provided he started overland from California, was issued by General Scott on June 3, 1861.[23] Johnston stayed in Los Angeles from May 2 to June 16, and then departed for Texas. With a group of about thirty sympathizers, Johnston, facing capture by U.S. soldiers, ran the gauntlet across the desert. He journeyed by way of Warner's Ranch, crossing the Colorado River at Yuma on July 1. He reached Arizona at the time of its conquest by Confederate forces under Col. John R. Baylor. Johnston reached San Antonio, Texas, and from there hurried to Richmond.

JOHNSTON'S INNOCENCE

The contemporary source material in itself is evidence that General Johnston was innocent of the charges of treason and disloyalty. The fact that the two staunch Unionist newspapers of San Francisco were not alarmed at Johnston's release reveals the fallaciousness of the rumors. On the day of Sumner's assuming command and of the arrival of news in San Francisco of the attack on Fort Sumter, the *Daily Alta California* in an article entitled, "The New Appointed Commander of the Pacific Division," stated: "It is likely that Gen. Johnston will be entrusted with command of the Oregon Department, or be transferred to the command of his regiment, which is, we believe, serving in Arkansas."[24]

The *Daily Evening Bulletin*, in an article on General Sumner's arrival, ridiculed the rumors of a plot and condemned the unwarranted excitement of "life-long peace men" over the rumors. It stated: "No wonder they think the telegraph lies, when truth gets so horribly distorted traveling on foot half a dozen blocks on Montgomery Street." It concluded that General Sumner took command "without any unnecessary perspiration or extravagant haste. . . ."[25]

Records left by military men serving both on the Pacific coast and in Washington, D.C., give clear evidence of the loyalty and honesty of General Johnston to the U.S. government.[26] In a statement written in response to an inquiry by the editor of the *Century* magazine in 1885, Fitz John Porter related that while he was stationed in the adjutant-general's office in Washington he was authorized to send Johnston a message assuring him of the war department's confidence and his receipt of an important command upon his arrival in Washington. However, the message reached Johnston after Sumner's arrival, and Johnston replied that he preferred "to follow the fortunes" of his adopted state of Texas. Porter firmly believed in the man's integrity and completed his statement as follows:

> I felt in 1861, as I now know, that the assertion that General Johnston intended to turn over to the secessionists the defenses of California, or any part of the regular army, was false and absurd. Under no circumstances, even if intended, could such a plan have succeeded, especially with the regular army. But no such breach of trust was intended, nor would any graduate of West Point in the army have committed or permitted it. It had not better foundation than the statement of Senator [John] Conness of California, who three years later urged and secured the assignment of General [Irwin] McDowell to command on the Pacific Coast, on the ground that after the war for the Union should have ended there would be in California a more powerful rebellion than that then existing among the Southern States.[27]

Johnston was but one victim of an emotional society. On the eve of the conflict, California experienced much hysteria. However, only seven per cent of the population, according to the 1860 census, had migrated from the South, and when war came, the vast majority supported the Union.[28]

DEATH OF JOHNSTON

Johnston was killed in action on April 6, 1862, while commanding the Confederate forces in the fierce battle of Shiloh. A minié-ball struck him in the calf of the leg.[29] Gen. Ulysses S. Grant stated that Johnston, instead of caring for the wound, remained in the saddle commanding his men until he died from loss of blood. The opinion of Johnston, expressed by the victorious soldier who accepted Lee's sword of surrender at Appomattox, seems appropriate:

> I had known Johnston slightly in the Mexican war, and later as an officer in the regular army. He was a man of high character and ability. His contemporaries at West Point, and officers generally who came to know him personally later, and who remained on our side, expected him to prove the most formidable man to meet, that the Confederacy would produce. . . .[30]

NOTES

1. William Preston Johnston, *The Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston* (New York, 1878), *passim*. The author wrote his father's biography from family papers and other sources. He was the eldest son, who became famous as president of Louisiana State University and then of Tulane University. Chapter VII of Arthur Marvin Shaw's *William Preston Johnston, A Transitional Figure of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1943), describes the writing of the biography. See also Shaw, ed., "Albert Sidney Johnston in Texas, Letters to Relatives in Kentucky, 1847-1860," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, XL (July 1942), 290-317. For a brief biographical sketch, see Chris Emmett, *The General and the Poet, Albert Sidney Johnston and Sidney Lanier* (San Antonio, 1937), pp. 5-21. For Johnston's action in Utah, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 512-42.

2. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 v., Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. I, p. 433.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 463-64.

4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), VII, 279.

5. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

6. *Sacramento City and Its Resources: A Souvenir of the Bee* (Sacramento, 1895), p. 156.

7. James H. Wilkins, ed., *The Great Diamond Hoax and Other Stirring Incidents in the Life of Asbury Harpending* (San Francisco, 1913), p. 29.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-40; Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 173.

10. William Rhodes, "Edmund Randolph," in Oscar Shuck, ed., *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1870), p. 591.

11. Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861: How Colonel E. D. Baker Saved The Pacific Coast To The Union* (Boston, 1912), pp. 79-80, 206. See also, James A. B. Scherer, *Thirty-first Star* (New York, 1942), pp. 257-59. For an account of Baker's military career and death, see John D. Baltz, *Colonel E. D. Baker's Defense in the Battle of Ball's Bluff, fought October 21st 1861, in Virginia* (Lancaster, Pa., 1888). See also Milton H. Shutes, "Colonel E. D. Baker," this QUARTERLY, XVII (Dec. 1938), 303-24.

12. Erasmus D. Keyes, *Fifty Years' Observations of Men and Events* (New York, 1884), p. 420.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.

14. *The War of the Rebellion: . . . Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. I, p. 456.

15. Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-61.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

17. Richard H. Orton, ed., *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1867* (Sacramento, 1890), p. 6.

18. Peter T. Conmy, "The Pacific Republic," *The Grizzly Bear*, LXVI (Jan. 1940), 3.

19. J. M. Loveridge, an article to the editor, *Michigan History Magazine*, XV (Spring No., 1931), 376-80; *The Original Military Records written by Colonel Orlando Hurley Moore*, Transcript, pp. 2-4.

20. "The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins," this QUARTERLY, XXVI (Sept. 1947), 260-61.

21. George Henry Pettis, *Frontier Service During the Rebellion; Or, A History of Company K, First Infantry, California Volunteers* (Providence, 1885), pp. 6-7.

22. Orton, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

23. *The War of the Rebellion: . . . Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. I, p. 496; Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 290-92.

24. *Daily Alta California*, April 15, 1861.

25. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 25, 1861.

26. Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-67; Dewitt C. Thompson, *California in the Rebellion* (San Francisco, 1891), p. 9.

27. Fitz John Porter, "The Offer of Union Command to General A. S. Johnston," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, XXIX (Feb. 1885), 634-35.

28. Benj. F. Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," this QUARTERLY, XX (June 1941), 154-70.

29. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman by Himself* (New York, 1875), I, 247.

30. Ulysses S. Grant, "The Battle of Shiloh," *The Century* . . ., XXIX (Feb. 1885), 608.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BEEBE, LUCIUS, AND CHARLES CLEGG

Virginia and Truckee, a Story of Virginia City and Comstock Times. Oakland, G. H. Hardy, 1949. 58 p. illus. $2.00.

BEKEART, PHILIP K.

Three Generations, 1837-1949, Jules François Bekeart, a Gunsmith; Philip Baldwin Bekeart, His Son; Philip Kendall Bekeart, His Grandson; 100th Anniversary of the Establishment in the Firearms Business in California, April 1, 1949. [Oakland, Westgate Press, 1949.] [26] p. illus. Privately Printed.

BORDEN, STANLEY

History and Rosters of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad and Predecessor Lines. San Mateo, Western Railroader, 1949. 32 p. illus. 50 cents. (Western Railroader, v. 12, no. 6, April 1949.)

BRUFF, J. GOLDSBOROUGH

Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers . . . Edited by Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, with a Foreword by F. W. Hodge. California Centennial Edition. New York, Columbia University Press, 1949. 794 p. illus. $10.00.

CALIFORNIA. CONSTITUTION, 1849

Constitution of the State of California, 1849. With an introduction by Robert Glass Cleland. San Marino, Friends of the Huntington Library, 1949. 19 p. facsim. $1.75.

EYRE, ALICE

The Famous Fremonts and Their America. Orange, Calif., Fine Arts Press, 1949. 374 p. $5.00.

FISHER, ANNE

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GUDDE, ERWIN G.

California Place Names: a Geographic Dictionary. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949. 462 double column p. $10.00.

HAWKINS, ANNE

To the Swift. New York, Harper & Bros., 1949. 296 p. $2.75.

HINKLE, GEORGE AND BLISS HINKLE

Sierra-Nevada Lakes. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1949. 383 p. illus., maps. $4.00. (American Lake Series.)

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ORR, ROBERT T.
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RUSSEL, ROBERT R.
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SALINGER, JEHANNE BIETRY, ED.
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SETTLE, RAYMOND AND MARY LUND SETTLE
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News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

February 1, 1949 to April 30, 1949

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From MR. JOEL E. FERRIS—Photostats of nine letters and eight documents concerning Hiram Gano Ferris, early settler in Siskiyou County.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Two manuscript pages from the cash book of Mailliard Estate Inc. dated April 18, 1906.

From MRS. MARGARET SCHLICHTMANN and HON. A. T. SHINE—Day book of the San Leandro Meat Market Oct. 1875-Mar. 1877, David Ury, Proprietor; Account book of Austin Mecartea, blacksmith Big Oak Flat 1886-1890; Another Mecartea Account book dating from 1867; Blank draft book of the Experance Gold, Silver, & Copper Mining Co., Big Oak Flat.

From HON. A. T. SHINE—Adams, Samuel, A Journal of a Voyage to California in the Barque *Mazeppa,* manuscript dated New York January 27, 1849-March 18, 1850. Two volumes; Typewritten and pencil transcription of the diary; Pencil sketch of the *Mazeppa* drawn by George E. Young laid in volume two; Twenty-four manuscript letters, receipts, agreements relating to the Adams family together with a collection of newspaper clippings and three photographs.

From MR. RAY SLANKER—Two day books from general store in Amador City, 1879 and 1895.

From MRS. HELEN MARYE THOMAS—Three photostats of manuscript documents relating to the presentation of the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky to George T. Marye.

From MR. EDWIN VAN AMRINGE—The Mother Lode of California—Description and History, a selection of material, principally from his collection. Typewritten.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. HARRY J. BREEN—A framed photograph of Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson.

From MR. A. S. CLARK—Eleven early photographs of San Francisco: S. F. Ferry Landing 1889, Veranda Saloon 1856, Old Cliff House 1865, Baldwin Hotel 1874, California Theatre 1865, Fort Vigilance 1856, Down Market Street in 1865, View from Cliff House 1865, Clay and Kearny Streets, Market Street in 1865, and California Street R. R.

From MISS CHRISTINE DONOHOE—Photographic copy of portrait and letter of Dr. William Maxwell Wood.

From MR. JOEL E. FERRIS—A photograph of Hiram Gano Ferris from a daguerreotype taken in Yreka about 1852.

From MR. REX HARDY, JR.—Holt's Map of California and Nevada, 1869.

From MRS. JOHN GRIFFIN JOHNSTON—Life size portrait in oil of John Strother Griffin, M.D., painter unknown.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—A map of Hillsborough Park and vicinity showing principal roads and other points of interest in the year 1930.

From MR. ARNOLD M. LLOYD—A copy of a painting by Horace Vernet painted in oil by Dr. V. J. Fourgeaud.

From MR. GEORGE MATHIS and MR. H. P. DAVIS—Eight handcolored lithographs by George Mathis: Nevada City Firehouse #2, Dutch Flat Hotel, Silt Wheels at Jackson, Sierra City, Columbia, Nevada City's "Red Castle," Ghost Town of Amador City, North San Juan Street Scene.

From MRS. MARGARET SCHLICHTMANN and HON. A. T. SHINE—U. S. Geological Survey, Geologic Atlas of the United States, Jackson Folio, Truckee Folio, and Sacramento Folio; Two manuscript maps of San Francisco water lots and one profile diagram of San Francisco Streets, [n.d.] formerly owned by William Heath Davis; Seventeen U. S. Geological Survey Topographic Sheets; Map of Panama [n.d., Spanish period]; Photographs: Death Valley Scotty; Carmel Mission, interior view before restoration; Four views of the Estudillo Home before it was torn down in 1948; Twelve portraits; Three pictures at Big Oak Flat; Four pictures of San Leandro; Three pictures at Yosemite Valley; Two framed photographic portraits of Manuel da Rosa Serpa and María Felicia da Rosa Serpa.

From HON. M. C. SLOSS—Photographs: Louis Sloss, Lewis Gerstle, Martin L. Washburn, Hayward M. Hutchinson, Capt. G. Niebaum, Two views of the Alaska Commercial Co., First sailing for the Klondike, Steamer *Excelsior*, July 28, 1897.

From MR. VICTOR SPARKS—Four photographs of paintings listed in his catalog: View of the California Coast (probably Pt. Lobos) painted by Albert Bierstadt, Review of the Grand Army of the Republic by James Walker, Battle of Buena Vista by James Walker, View of Stockton before 1858, by A. D. O. Browere.

From MR. LEROY WAHMUTH—Colored lithograph by Geo. H. Burgess, "San Francisco in July 1849 from Present Site of S. F. Stock Exchange."

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. SPENCER C. BROWNE—Plaster bust of J. Ross Browne.

From MR. COLLIER H. BUFFINGTON—Rogue's Gallery of Chinese criminals collected by Delos Woodruff, special officer San Francisco Police Department, 1874; Stock certificate of Claremont Mining Company issued Feb. 20, 1864.

From MISS CHARLOTTE CLIFT—Marriage certificate of Mr. Osro Clift and Mrs. Margaret Harper of Mendocino County, February 13, 1865.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER—Scrapbook containing *Sara Althea* by Evelyn Wells published in the *Call Bulletin*, 1933.

From MRS. VICTOR REITER in Memory of Victor Reiter and Jules Pagès—Two photographs: Victor Reiter and Jules Pagès; Scrapbook containing impressions of seals designed by Jules Pagès; Oakland *Daily News*, January 12, 1874.

From MRS. EDWARD AUSTIN RIX—Mortar and pestle made by Justinian Caire & Co., 1874.

From MRS. MARGARET SCHLICHTMAN and HON. A. T. SHINE—Certificate of merit for excellence in arithmetic awarded to Gabriel Peralta by Georgetown College, Washington, D. C., 1859; Autograph album which was owned by Katie Belle Stevens; One package of Japanese pocket warmers; Autograph album which was owned by Alice Phelan Yates.

From MRS. THOMAS M. SHEPHERD—Collection of materials relating to music in San Francisco, Public schools of San Francisco, and photographs from the Estate of Estelle Carpenter.

From MRS. LOWELL STEPHENSON—Two Digger Indian Baskets, Tailor shears and thimble, Frying pan and pocket shaving mirror.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—A collection of materials relating to San Francisco; Photographs: Panama Pacific International Exposition, Midwinter Fair, Portola Festival 1909, Earthquake and Fire 1906; Badge (Republican League of California); deeds and receipts.

Gifts of Remembrance

A gift representing the combined generosity of several of our members and friends is that of the especially designed, printed, and bound *Book of Remembrance*, which has been completed and is now on view to members and visitors in the Society's rooms. This beautiful book was designed by Alfred Kennedy and printed by Lawton Kennedy of the Westgate Press, Oakland, both of whom donated their time and skill. The full morocco binding is the work of William Wheeler, San Francisco, made possible through the generosity of Ralph H. Cross, chairman of the Library Committee. William J. Reed, San Francisco scribe, contributed the illumination of the title page in gold leaf and color, and will continue to inscribe the names of persons in whose memory contributions are made to the Library Fund.

Recent contributions have been made in memory of the following:

E. A. Burbank
Edward B. Field
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
Whitney Palache

January 31, 1949

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1948 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1948

ASSETS

Cash—Commercial Account	$ 2,256.30	
Savings Account	2,373.44	
Office Revolving Fund	20.00	$ 4,649.74
U. S. Savings Bonds, G		$ 1,100.00
Accounts Receivable		
General Fund	32.89	
Publication Fund	70.08	102.97
Inventory of Publications		3,586.50
Prepaid Insurance		408.55
Total Assets*		$ 9,847.76

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable—General Fund		$ 30.36
Sales Tax Payable—State	$ 36.33	
City	.09	36.42
Withholding Tax Payable		259.40
Contributions Reserved for Special Purposes		875.00
Dues Collected in Advance		720.50
		$ 1,921.68

FUNDS

General Fund	($ 66.73)	
Publication Fund	5,839.58	
Library Fund	1,053.23	
Cavalier Memorial Fund	1,100.00	7,926.08
Total Liability and Funds		$ 9,847.76

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1948

RECEIPTS

Dues—Active Members	$12,040.00	
Sustaining Members	3,475.00	
Patron Members	2,600.00	$18,115.00

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*Library collections, furniture and equipment are not valued on the books; the insurance value of the Library and Collections is $76,668.08.

Contributions—General	25.00	
Special Purposes	1,013.00	1,038.00
Sales of Quarterly		646.58
Sales of Prints		151.20
Interest on Savings Account		29.91
Miscellaneous Revenue		50.98
Total Receipts		$20,031.67
Less—*Expenditures*		
Operating Expenses		
Salaries	$10,417.55	
Rent	2,160.00	
Telephone	178.02	
Office Supplies	422.49	
Postage and Express	148.90	
Furniture and Equipment	134.19	
Insurance	179.43	
Library Expenses	6.61	
Miscellaneous	1,010.97	$14,658.16
Membership and Publicity		41.81
Luncheon Expenses		428.35
Quarterly Publication Costs*		6,095.71
Total Expenditures		$21,224.03
Excess of Receipts Over Expenditures		($ 1,192.36)
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		1,125.63
Fund Balance at End of Year		($ 66.73)

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1948

Sales of Publications		$ 2,636.35
Less—Cost of Sales		
Beginning Inventory	$ 607.55	
Purchases	5,127.90	
	$ 5,735.45	
Less—Ending Inventory	3,586.50	2,148.95

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*This figure represents the costs of publishing last year's December Quarterly and the March, June and September Quarterlies for the current year.

Gross Profit From Sales	$ 487.40
Less—Selling Expense	202.45
Net Profit From Sales	$ 284.95
Interest on Savings Account	20.32
Net Gain to Fund	$ 305.27
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	5,534.31
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 5,839.58

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1948

Receipts		
Sale of Duplicate Books	$ 56.50	
Contributions	660.41	
Interest on Savings Account	5.40	
Total Receipts		$ 722.31
Less—*Expenditures*		
Purchase of Wiltsee Books	$ 400.00	
Shelving	15.90	
Miscellaneous	81.86	
Total Expenditures		497.76
Net Increase in Fund		$ 224.55
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		828.68
Fund Balance at End of Year		$ 1,053.23

CAVALIER MEMORIAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1948

Contributions	$ 700.00
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	400.00
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 1,100.00

Meetings

On February 10, 1949, Jackson Burke of the Stanford University Press, and operator, with his wife, Marie Louise, of an old hand press, spoke on examples of this kind of typographic mechanism as they are owned and run by private individuals in California. It is a subject to which much attention has been given, ever since, at the Golden Gate International Exposition in 1940, the Roxburghe Club's display of books inspired Edward Laroque Tinker to devote his entire space, in the book section of the New York *Times*, July 14, 1940, to a description of California's private presses.

After some direct quotations as to what constitutes a private press, in the mind of its operator as well as in the nature of the equipment itself, Mr. Burke took up the roster (from 1900, on) of these expert craftsmen and described each one's particular output. As references, he cited, in addition to the New York *Times* article mentioned above, a book by Mrs. Louise F. Barr on the *Presses of Northern California* (Berkeley, 1934); his own article on contemporary hand-presses, operating in the same area of the state (Quarterly *News Letter*, Book Club of California, Autumn 1948, pp. 75-85); and Ward Ritchie on those of southern California (*ibid.*, Winter 1947, pp. 3-9). His hearers' special attention was called to the recent honor paid Lewis & Dorothy Allen, Hillsborough, in having had two of their books selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts for inclusion in its Fifty Book Show—this, in spite of the Allens' restricted facilities, which make it exceedingly difficult to maintain color while printing two pages at a time. As Mr. Burke pointed out, such a feat is hard enough when sixteen or thirty-two pages are printed simultaneously. Another press to be honored by a Graphic Arts selection was the Greenwood Press of Jack Stauffacher and Adrian Wilson in San Francisco. One left the luncheon with the feeling that the urgency which makes private pressmen attempt to secure perfect results from their hand equipment (often a makeshift contrivance, at best, cast aside by a professional) goes a long way toward dimming the line between what is a craft and the canons delimiting art.

To have remained genial while in pursuit of the origin of geographic names may have been hard at times, but Dr. Edwin G. Gudde, professor of German at the University of California and editor of *California Place Names* (Berkeley, 1949) had no trouble in convincing his audience at the luncheon meeting of March tenth that it had been the case with him.

When applied to any country, toponomy (or the more familiar, "topographic nomenclature") calls for learning, imagination, and a certain stubborn resistance to the merely plausible. On the whole, though, toponyms make a lovely subject for study. Is a river's name simply an ancient word signifying "wet" to the former inhabitants; does the name for a peak perpetuate someone's idea of poetic appropriateness; was there a military encampment at such and such a place; etc.? Dig down deep into a name and it will tell you—perhaps. Whatever the definiteness of the results may be, you will discover things. You'll find names signifying the character of the pre-existing race, or of this or that set of name-giving individuals who had become infused with that race's propensities. And once a name is bestowed, it runs the risk of being transported, intact or modified, to turn up somewhere, way out of its original racial context and appearing homesick amid some alien cornfield or at some crossroad of commerce. Down each scent over the length of the California scene Dr. Gudde has gone, with the aggregation in his latest book to show for it. He has outlined, besides, a chronological frequency as to when the members of California's toponymic democracy tended to appear on sign posts: saints, Indian chiefs, geologists, postmasters, writers and their works, the classic example of the last being Montalvo's realm as the source of this state's own name—an example, by the way, which possibly stood alone in the literary frequency for that early period. One might cite many other names, were there room. Alhambra Valley's derivation from the euphonious rendering of the Spanish *Arroyo de Hambre* (valley of hunger) reminds one of the less euphonious English inn's name, Goat and Compasses, transformed from the phrase, "God Encompasseth." Dr. Gudde's talk was well worthwhile, not just for the fun of it, but for a delightful freshening of history.

When the sculptors John G. Borglum and his son impressed on a mountain front in South Dakota a group of presidential likenesses, the air pulsated with the tap, tap, tap of hammers and chisels; and one must go miles, as a transient, to admire the results. Francis P. Farquhar, author of *Yosemite, the Big Trees, and the High Sierra: a Selective Bibliography* (Berkeley, 1948) has used a different method. When he re-peopled the region of the High Sierra with its devoted ones, the air pulsated with the tap, tap, tap of his typewriter; whence the printing presses took over, the result being that mountains and mountaineers, waterfalls and great trees can now be held, possessively, in the hand.

At the luncheon meeting on April fourteenth, last, Mr. Farquhar acted as proxy for a dozen or so of the writers whose books and pamphlets make up the twenty-five entries in his annotated and expanded bibliography, each entry being selected for its unusual character and/or importance. First to be proxied was Zenas Leonard whose *Narrative* is called the principal source of information on Joseph R. Walker's trip from the Great Salt Lake to California in 1833. With Nos. 2 and 3 came in the unstated authors of write-ups for the New York and London exhibitions, in 1854 and '57, of rival examples of the "vegetable monster" from California—called "*Americus*" and also "*Wellingtonia*" *Gigantea* before the name settled down into *Sequoia Gigan-*

tea. The tree always gave trouble to urban architects: they had to make exhibit halls "high studded enough" to admit the setting up of *Gigantea* or her sections. Then were introduced to the author-speaker's hearers J. M. Hutchings and Edward Vischer, who tended to rhapsodical (who wouldn't be!) representations of the tree and its site. State Geologist (afterwards Harvard professor) J. D. Whitney, auriferous-gravel and climatic-change scientist, came on the scene next with his technical survey, etc. (Nos. 6 and 7), followed by John S. Hittell, holding what appeared to be the first guidebook to the Yosemite.

Though Samuel Kneeland, one of the *wonderers* (No. 10) had to be proxied, too, there is a photograph of him in the book. Neither could "Viscountess Avonmore" Therese Yelverton (No. 11) nor her heroine [Man] *Zanita* (Florence Hutchings, prototype) attend, nor the hero "Kenmuir" (a John Muir derivative); but it was all very entertaining, anyway. John Muir, unfictionalized, was introduced again (No. 21) with his *Letters to a Friend*, same being Jeanne C. (Smith) Carr, wife of Prof. Ezra S. Carr of the University of Wisconsin, where the three had met, Muir as a student; and one heard him recommend lying upon the rocks "for years as the ice did," in order to understand them. One moonlight night he and Joseph LeConte (No. 14) did that very thing above Tenaya Lake (see Farquhar's page 47). A curtain call brought in Muir again, this time to a Japanese stage, where Ojima Torimizu is christened "the John Muir of Japan" by T. H. Kinoshita, companion of Shuki Nakamura (No. 22), "conquerors" of Mt. Whitney—a challenge with which Clarence King had grappled much earlier in his *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (No. 12).

Another lass, besides the "Viscountess," as author, was Constance F. Gordon-Cumming (No. 17). She had already cruised the seas on a French man-of-war and had written it up; after which *Granite Crags* must have posed a quite different type for her to weather. Dr. David Starr Jordan, ichthyologist and president of Stanford University at the time (1903), showed how well he knew the *Alps of the King-Kern Divide* (No. 19); and there was "Billy" or Elizabeth White, wife of Stewart Edward White (No. 20), whose name descended, or rather, ascended, to Elizabeth Pass; and we were told, too, that the "Forest Ranger" in White's book was Sam L. N. Ellis of Tulare County. The list closed with official reports (Nos. 23-25). One wished devoutly that the restriction to twenty-five had applied to some other bibliography than Farquhar's.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Patron	
Miss Johanna Volkmann	San Francisco	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
	Sustaining	
Mrs. John Philip Coghlan	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
George A. Scott	San Diego	Aubrey Drury
Harvey E. Starr, M.D.	Los Angeles	A. R. Van Noy, Sr.
	Active	
Henry M. Andersen	Fresno	Robert H. Edgerton
Arizona. Dept. of Library & Archives	Phoenix	Membership Committee
Mrs. William Leroy Atkinson	San Jose	Miss Rowena Beans
Miss Loleta Benbow	Benbow	Reuben L. Underhill
Sister Agnes Bernard	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Darrell J. Bogardus	Los Angeles	Darwin S. Chesney
Mrs. Thomas Bunn	Pebble Beach	Membership Committee
Commonwealth Club of California	San Francisco	Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Elbert S. Conner	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Edwin Corle	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
A. L. Davis	Oakland	Ralph H. Cross
Miss Muriel Drury	Berkeley	Aubrey Drury
Howard F. Fletcher	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
Paul W. Gallaher	Glendale	Membership Committee
Mrs. Lou Ann Garrett	San Luis Obispo	Membership Committee
Mrs. Roscoe Benbow Hope	Ben Bow	Reuben L. Underhill
Rex E. Hrusoff	Oakland	Harold C. Holmes
George W. Jones	San Rafael	Warren R. Howell
L. M. Klauber	San Diego	Allen L. Chickering
Jack H. Lund	Berkeley	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. M. Hall McAllister	Redlands	Continuing Mr. McAllister's membership
Mrs. H. B. McFarland	Berkeley	Homer C. Votaw and Mrs. Rogers Parratt
John R. McKee	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Harold G. Mason	Piedmont	Membership Committee
Roy E. Mayo	San Leandro	Harvey B. Lyon
John Vincent Meherin, Jr.	San Mateo	Continuing father's membership
Mrs. Maxwell C. Milton	Oakland	Mrs. Clarence Shuey
Mrs. L. Gage Rand	Hollywood	Membership Committee
Richard Raoul-Duval	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Col. Fred B. Rogers	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Andrew F. Rolle	Pasadena	Robert G. Cleland
Miss Amelie Rougeau	Columbus, N. J.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Marcia Wynn Samelson	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
San Benito County Free Library	Hollister	Membership Committee
Mrs. Mary Singleton Sigourney	Mills College	Honor Award
John W. Snyder	Pasadena	L. M. Klauber
Mrs. Bert Swenson	Stockton	Carlos La Moine
Justin G. Turner	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Edwin V .Van Amringe	Altadena	Membership Committee
Burdick F. Williams	Los Angeles	Warren R. Howell

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

For biographical sketches on Anson S. Blake, J. N. Bowman, and Benjamin F. Gilbert, see index to this QUARTERLY, Vol. XXVI (1947); and to Vol. XXVII (1948) for the same on A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., and A. P. Nasatir. Dr. Bowman is at present historian for the central records bureau, office of the secretary of state at Sacramento, and Mr. Gilbert is a teaching assistant in history at the University of California.

Richard H. Dillon is a native of Sausalito and a graduate of the University of California (1948), majoring in history. For one semester after the close of the last war, he attended the Biarritz American University in France. Latterly he has traveled in Mexico and Cuba, and is now teaching at St. Mary's College High School.

Mrs. Ella W. Ryan's "sound and enthusiastic instruction in history" at Galileo High School, San Francisco, is still held in high esteem by Henry Madden, translator and editor of Xántus' letters. He is a graduate of Stanford University (A.B., 1933) and was granted the Ph.D. degree at Columbia in 1948, where, for the year 1935-36 he had been a Schiff Fellow. Dr. Madden's studies also took him to the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest (1936-37), and he is now (Jan. 1949) abroad again as a member of the international refuge organization, stationed at Linz.

John Scaglione, born in Santa Barbara, took his A.B. degree (history major) at the University of California in 1941 and is now working toward his M.A. (see note 19 of his present paper on Ogden), while teaching at the Martinez high school.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Henry Mattei Andersen (b. Fresno, 1925; A. B. degree, Stanford University, 1948) is engaged in ranching near Fresno with his father, Henry Andersen, a native of Denmark. QUARTERLY readers will remember from Miss Thickens' article on early colonists in the Fresno area (issue of March 1946, p. 30) that it was a Scandinavian who first discovered the county's adaptability to grapes as wine and raisin producers in 1873. On both the Danish and Swiss sides of Mr. Andersen's family this discovery has contributed to their genius for soil cultivation, as may be seen from the account and photograph of his Swiss grandfather, Andrew Mattei (whose wife was Eleanor Joughin of Los Angeles) in J. M. Guinn, *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of the San Joaquin Valley* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 607-608. Coincident with Henry Mattei Anderson's honorable discharge from the U. S. army air force in 1945 came his purchase of Bancroft's *History of California*, as the war had opened his eyes to several lapses in soldiers' knowledge of their particular state's history and of national history as well. We civilians are not exactly immune from similar lapses.

When a bare personal statement comes into our files from a new member, saying that his father, A. E. Klauber, came to California in 1849 and located at Volcano in Amador County, we try other sources. We have found, for instance, the following citation in connection with the awarding of the LL.D. degree to Laurence M. Klauber (A.B., Stanford University, 1908) by the University of California in 1941: ". . . scholar in the fields of engineering and natural history, inventor of ingenious electrical distribution apparatus, inspiring force in many a scientific organization, student of reptiles, skilled in the application of statistical methods, a business executive who by sheer love of learning has made a place for himself in the company of academic men." It might be remarked here that Mr. Klauber, after serving as president for two years, is now chairman of the board of directors of the San Diego Gas and Electric Company, with which he has been associated since 1911.

Mrs. L. Gage Rand is the daughter of Henry T. Gage, governor of California from 1899 to 1903. On her mother's side she traces her descent from Francisco Lugo, an arrival in California from Sinaloa shortly after 1769. This comes about through the marriage of her grandfather, Isaac (or Julian) Williams to María de Jesús Lugo, granddaughter of Francisco. Of Isaac Williams, Bancroft (*History of California*, V, 775) says that he was "one of the typical rancheros of southern Cal., enterprising, hospitable. . . ." Mrs. Rand's history interests include early California painters and the oldest varieties of roses grown here.

Col. Fred. B. Rogers, U. S. army, retired, is known to members of the Society through his QUARTERLY articles on early military posts of California and as speaker at luncheon meetings (see reference to his book, *Soldiers of the Overland*, etc., in this QUARTERLY, March 1947, p. 93). He is at present completing a biography of Capt. Henry L. Ford (1822-60), in his various capacities as soldier, rancher, and Indian agent at the Nome Lackee and Mendocino reservations. Colonel Rogers reports having found much hitherto unpublished material pertaining to Ford.

Mrs. Marcia Wynn Samelson was "born on the Baltic gold mine, about a mile from Randsburg, Kern County. . . ." Her grandfather (a second cousin of Mrs. Grover Cleveland Preston), Charles H. Wynn, was a law graduate of Ann Arbor, Michigan, who moved his family (his wife was Euphemia Rittenhouse) to Los Angeles, but instead of practicing there he went to the new desert mining camp at Randsburg. Mrs. Samelson's father was Wilbur Webster Wynn. He married Mabel Jessamyn Heaton, a native of Columbus, Kansas, in Johannesburg in 1900. Mrs. Samelson thus has mining well woven into her background, and is contemplating authorship of a book on her own early life in Goldfield, Nevada.

George Alexander Scott, high ranking official of Walker's Department Store, San Diego, was born in Crieff, Scotland, educated in Calgary, Canada, and at New York University, and has traveled widely abroad. His international experience may now be seen reflected in the expansion of his business and in his generous attitude toward the many kinds of welfare and artistic organizations of San Diego.

Nebraska was the birthplace and remained the home of Mrs. Bert Edward Swenson (Stella Spillner Swenson) until she and her husband went to River Falls, Wisconsin. Here she taught at the normal school and gave much of her time to the activities of the Camp Fire Girls—an interest which she kept up after moving to Stockton in 1918. She had, during her residence in Stockton, assumed important responsibilities in connection with the San Joaquin chapter of the American Red Cross. Mrs. Swenson completed the requirements for the A. B. degree at the College of the Pacific in 1934, and since 1947 has been pursuing graduate studies with Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt in California history, the subject of her report being the history of Silver Lake, Amador County. For the year 1947 she acted as editor of *Bonanza*, the bulletin of the Mother Lode chapter of the Sierra Club.

Before coming to California, Justin G. Turner practiced law in Chicago from 1920 to 1942. As a collector of Californiana he finds special pleasure in bibliographies, diaries, and early newspapers. Mr. Turner was one of the organizers of the National Society of Autograph Collectors and is now its west coast director.

Correspondence

In connection with the article on Thomas Vincent Cator by Harold F. Taggart, which appeared in the March 1949 issue of the Quarterly, and particularly in connection with the footnote, number 49, on page 55 reading as follows:

> An interesting incident in the campaign was the attack leveled at Maguire by Father Peter Yorke of San Francisco in the last few days of the campaign. That a deal had been made, tacitly or otherwise, is indicated by the appointment of Father Yorke to the board of regents of the University of California by Governor Gage

the Hon. Joseph Scott, a member of the Society and a distinguished citizen of California residing in Los Angeles, has written us to the effect that the appointment of Father Peter C. Yorke as a Regent of the University of California was not the result of a "deal" as might be inferred from this note. We are grateful to Mr. Scott for his suggestion in this regard.

Mr. W. W. Winn informs us that his grandfather, Albert Maver Winn (see this Quarterly, March 1949, p. 93) was colonel of the 1st regiment, Mississippi *Militia*, not Volunteers Mexican War, as stated. Colonel Winn acted as one of the judges when Jefferson Davis was elected to the latter office.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Author of the *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution*

Reproduced from picture distributed *To the Patrons of the "China Mail and Flying Dragon" and of the "San Francisco News Letter,"* at the time of his appointment as minister to China, and now on exhibit at the Society's headquarters, together with other pictures and papers from the Browne Family Collection.

The Original Constitution of California of 1849

By J. N. Bowman

THE engrossed constitution, which has been in the custody of the secretary of state since 1849, has been regarded by tradition as the original constitution enacted by the convention in Monterey. However, the reading of the Journal[1] of the convention and of the Browne *Report*[2] indicates that the engrossed copy was, itself, made from another document, namely, the constitution as considered and adopted by the convention. An account of the finding and the identification of this original constitution is the object of the present paper.

The engrossed constitution, in a binding of buff-colored cloth, is written on both sides of nineteen parchment pages, 15½ x 12 inches, each page being edged with red cloth. The last page is devoted to the actual signatures of 47 of the 48 members of the convention—Pedro Sainsevaine failed to sign. Within the front cover and preceding the engrossed constitution, is the official Spanish translation, made by W. E. P. Hartnell and written on heavy white paper; the 45 pages, 12 x 7½ inches in size, are written on both sides, with the last page devoted to the copied signatures of 46 of the 48 convention members—the signatures of Pedro Sainsevaine and H. A. Tefft are omitted.

At the evening session of the convention on October 6, Miguel de Pedrorena, James McHall Jones, and M. G. Vallejo were appointed on the engrossing committee,[3] with instructions to have the constitution written in English on parchment, together with a Spanish translation made by the official convention interpreter, Hartnell, also on parchment. Since the articles of the constitution were adopted after the third reading on October 10 and 11 and the engrossed copy was signed at the afternoon session of October 13, the engrossing took place within the two or three intervening days. It was done by a Mr. Hamilton who was voted $500 for his work.[4] A copy of the constitution was also made at the end of the Journal, with the copied signatures of all forty-eight of the members. The question is: were the engrossed and the Journal copies made from each other or from an original?

On October 12, one day before the engrossed copy was signed, W. H. Halleck, delegate from Monterey, sent to Maj. R. Allen in San Francisco, for printing, a copy "of the constitution just formed by the Convention."[5] This implies a constitution *before* the engrossed copy.

In the Journal from September 3 to October 4[6] are references to documents marked A to Z "on file," including various articles of the later constitution. These documents have been located in file No. 1169 in the state archives; eighty-six are different versions of the thirteen sections (preamble and twelve articles) of the final instrument and are scattered among the articles, from one to twenty-three per article. By comparing the papers of each of the articles, included in this file, with the Journal copy and with the engrossed copy, it is possible to locate for each of these articles of the proposed constitution the version which was used for the third reading and which was adopted on October 10 and 11.

The articles selected in this manner as the probable originals have been checked by four additional methods:

1. In Browne's *Report*[7] is given the final action on each article: in Article I "a few verbal errors" were made right; in Article IV "several errors" in phraseology "were corrected"; in Article V "one or two verbal errors were corrected"; and to Article XII, the Schedule, section 5, were added the following words, "and on the question of the adoption thereof." These amending notations as given by Browne are all found in the selected articles.

2. Another method of checking is by the use of the words "engrossed copy" written on the front of the covers of seven of the ten files of the twelve articles. These words were probably written by Hamilton at the time of or after the engrossing on parchment. The handwriting seems to bear some resemblance to that in the engrossed copy, but the words may have been written on the copies made for the third reading. This is not conclusive evidence, but it is contributory.

3. The third and most conclusive method is the verbal checking of these selected articles with the engrossed copy, with the copy in the Journal, and with that published by Mason in his *Annotated Constitution of California*.[8] The engrossed copy follows the selected articles in all instances except for the addition of the word "other" before "writs" in the last sentence of section 4 of Article VI. The copy in the Journal is not so faithful in following the selected articles as the engrossed copy. In three cases words are added;[9] in four instances words are omitted;[10] in one case the singular of "corporations" is used;[11] in one instance words are transposed;[12] and in one case the words "shall be supported" are repeated.[13] These are all verbal changes and in no way alter the meaning materially. Mason's copy of the constitution is found by this verbal checking to have been made from the Journal copy with later corrections from the engrossed copy.[14]

The verbal changes made in the selected articles from the second reading are very few. In four instances words were deleted, in one case two words were added, in five instances substitute words were introduced, and in one instance the spelling of a word was corrected.[15]

4. The fourth method of checking is the comparison of the use of commas and semicolons in the four copies. The selected articles use 654 commas while the engrossed copy reduces the number to 521; the Journal copy increases the number to 703 and Mason to 657. The selected articles use over 80 semicolons while the engrossed copy uses fewer than 70; but the Journal

copy needs over 87 and Mason requires 73. Hamilton was a restricted user of punctuation marks, and the engrossed copy gives evidence of the erasure of a number of commas and of the changing of semicolons to commas.

The use of capital letters is not uniform in the original, the Journal, or the engrossed copies. And in these copies sand rather than blotting paper was used for blotting.

From these comparisons of the selected articles with the other three copies it is inferred that these selected articles form the original constitution as passed by the convention and from which both the engrossed and the Journal copies were made.

The original constitution now exists in nine separate folders as they were adopted by the convention. The Preamble is a half sheet of plain white paper filed in the front of the folder of Article I. Articles I, III and IV bound together, and V to X also bound together, are written on one side of large sheets of plain white paper, folded to form pages 12½ x 8 inches; Articles II and XI are written in the same manner on smaller sheets, folded to form pages 10 x 8 inches; while Article XII has the Boundary and the Schedule both written on large sheets of blue ruled paper, folded to form pages 13 x 8 inches. An addition to section 19 of Article IV is written on plain blue paper pasted on the left margin of the page. The number of pages for the articles run from two to nine. All the folders were folded twice for filing except the Preamble.

As mentioned above, the Preamble is inserted in a loose manner in the front of the folder of Article I. The Boundary of Article XII is folded and unbound. All the other articles are covered with a tan-colored paper, forming a back larger than the enclosed pages and stitched to the sheets with narrow pink ribbons on the left margins. Articles III and IV are bound together as are also Articles VII to X. All the folders excepting that containing Article V have "engrossed copy" written on the front of the front pages of the covers: on the back of the folder of Article I is written "original engrossed copy of the Constitution. J.E.H." (J. E. Howe was an engrossing clerk of the convention.) Each folder and the unbound part of Article XII have written on the front of the folder the proper article with its title.

These separate folders and papers of the original constitution of 1849 are now bound in a separate covering and are filed with the engrossed copy and with the Journal of the Convention.

Among the papers in this file of the papers of the 1849 convention are three copies of the Address to the People of California, one of which is the original signed by all members of the convention except Henry A. Tefft. It is bound with the original constitution as part two.

Such an address had been proposed by Stewart on September 27, but no action was taken until October 11, when a committee of ten, one from each district, was appointed: Stewart, McDonegal, Vermuele, Larkin, Hoppe, Walker, Tefft, De la Guerra, Stearns, and Pedrorena. On October 13 the address was adopted.

The nature of the constitution and of the address, written within a period of six weeks, raises a question as to the characteristics of the membership of the convention and of their activities. The convention was in session forty-three days; six of these days were Sundays when no sessions were held, but this loss of time was made up by twenty night sessions. The actual work on the building of the constitution from the first report of an article on September 7 to the final adoption on October 11, covered thirty actual work days with the twenty night sessions.

The task was performed by fourteen lawyers, twelve ranchers, nine merchants, four military men, two surveyors, two printers, and two of unknown professions, one banker, one physician, and one man "of leisure." They arrived in California from states east of the Mississippi except one from Oregon and the seven Californians. Ten hailed from New York, seven from Missouri, four from Louisiana, three from Maryland, two each from New Jersey, Virginia, Massachusetts, and one each from Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin, together with one each from France, Scotland, and Spain.

Six had been in California all of their lives, one most of his life, one for twenty years, two for sixteen years, two for ten years, two for four and ten for three years; five had been in the country only four months, nine had been in the territory less than one year and nineteen less than three years.[16]

The ages of the members ranged from twenty-five to fifty-three, with an average age of 36.6 years; the largest number falling within one year were the six of thirty-four years of age. Eight were in their twenties, twenty-three in their thirties, twelve in their forties, and only four were over fifty years of age.

The California constitution of 1849 was the work of young and energetic men, more than half of whom were relatively new in the country. The new constitution, which served the new state both before and after its admission into the union, continued to serve as the basis of government until it was revised in 1879, and much of it continues without change to the present time.

NOTES

1. The Journal is in the state archives.

2. J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution,* Washington, 1850.

3. Journal, *op. cit.,* pp. 130 ff.

4. No claim or other paper has been found, covering payment of this fee to Hamilton, from which his full name could be ascertained.

5. Browne, *op. cit.,* App., p. 44

6. Journal, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-114.

7. Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 458, 461.

8. Paul Mason, *Constitution of the State of California, Annotated* (Sacramento, 1946), 1429 ff.

9. "Their" in VI, § 7; "other" in IX, § 4; and "shall" in Schedule, § 11.

10. "Have" in IX, § 2; "section 4" in IX; "bribery" in XI, § 18; and "decrees" in XI, § 21.

11. In IV, § 33.

12. "Harbors and boys" in XII, Boundary.

13. In XI, § 18.

14. Yet Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 1429 (note), states that, "The copy of the constitution of 1849 prepared by the secretary of the constitutional convention and appearing in the original journal differs in several important particulars from the copy which was engrossed on parchment. The copy on parchment appears to be correct and is followed here." Both statements must be questioned.

15. Deleted: "at all times" in I, § 2; "to all mankind" in § 4 of the same article; "the" in V, § 15; "or" in § 19 of the same article. Additions: "for which" in IV, § 20. Substitute words: "or" for "and" in I, § 6; "and they shall not" for "nor shall they" in IV, § 12; "exercise" for "execute" in V, § 12; "meeting" for "session" in § 13 of the same article; and "Government" for "Governor" in § 19 also of the same article. Spelling of "elymosinary" was corrected in XI, § 16.

16. These biographical data are from the list of members published in Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

Documentary

Shipped, in good order and well conditioned, by W. H. Davis in and upon the good Ship called the Charles whereof Thos. Andrews is Master, for the present voyage, and now lying in the Port of Monterey and bound for Honolulu Oahu To say

Five Hundred Dollars ($500.00) in gold

marked and numbered as in the margin [none, in this case], and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned, at the aforesaid port of Honolulu Oahu (the dangers of the seas only excepted,) unto Mssrs. Kenway & Robertson or to their Assigns, he or they paying freight for the said goods [crossed out] money at the rate of three fourths per cent (¾%) with out per cent. Primage, and average accustomed.

In Witness Whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this tenor and date, the one of which Bills being accomplished, the others to stand void.

Dated at Monterey THOMAS ANDREWS
Jan'y 18, 1848

From Whitcomb papers, in Collection of California Historical Society

The Oregon and California Letters of Bradford Ripley Alden

ON August 24, 1853, in the region of Jacksonville, Oregon Territory, "the Rogue River Indians, assisted by the Klamathes, Shastas, the bands living on the Applegate and Grave creeks," were said by General of Volunteers Joseph Lane to have engaged a force of army regulars and volunteers.[1]

As to the commander of the "regulars," the reader will discover upon reaching Captain Alden's letter of August 11, 1853, that he had his "hands full" on this Jacksonville expedition. Under him were some 200 unpredictable volunteers (who might, as his letter of August twentieth says, "take it into their heads to go home") and only ten from the Fort Jones garrison. Moreover, his report to the adjutant general of the army shows that he was "without a quartermaster or commissary sufficiently conversant with the duties of those departments"; and when it was discovered that the Indians had fled to the mountains, from whence, to quote the captain,

> . . . it was apprehended they would descend in small bands to waylay the pack trains on all the roads leading to the valley, the war at once assumed a new character of imminent danger to the whole of Southern Oregon. Under these circumstances believing that, from the nature of the service, the safety of the valley would be hazarded should I retain the command, burdened with all the details of every subordinate department, I did not hesitate to request General Lane to relieve me from the command of the volunteers.

The battle lasted for five hours. Reporting on the significance of the treaty that was signed after the conflict and the exchange of opinions as to mutual grievances, General Lane concluded:

> A treaty of peace has been made with the Indians, and I have no doubt with proper care it can be strictly maintained. The tribe is a very large one, and to a great extent controls the tribes in this part of the country; a peace with them is a peace with all.

The encounter on August 24 was the result of several massacres retaliatory to white encroachment on Indian land in the Rogue River area. By 1851, Indian raids, in many cases started with excellent reason, had become so prevalent that Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock, commander of the Pacific division, requested the war department for aid.[2] Among the reinforcements arriving from the Atlantic states were Captain Alden and his Company E, 4th U. S. Infantry, who reached Fort Vancouver, via the Isthmus of Panama and San Francisco, in the spring of 1853. By April they were ready to begin the 375-mile journey through the wilderness to Fort Jones.

Bradford Ripley Alden (b. Allegheny, Pa., May 6, 1811; d. Newport, R. I., Sept. 10, 1870) was a West Point graduate, class of 1831, who had done battle before against Indians, when he fought the Seminoles in 1832-33 in

Florida.[3] From August 13, 1833, to September 14, 1840, he was at West Point, teaching, for varying periods, French, mathematics, and infantry tactics. He next served (Sept. 1840-Jan. 1842) as aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott.[4] By 1845 we find him, now a captain, engaged in the military occupation of Texas, this duty being followed on December 14 of that year by appointment to commandant of cadets at West Point where he remained until November 1, 1852. Then came frontier duty at Fort Vancouver,[5] where his letters begin. They are written to his wife, Anne Caroline (Coleman) Alden, to whom he makes clear his desire to resign from the army and enter civilian life. This wish interferes in no way with Captain Alden's genius for prosecuting his military responsibilities, the revelation of both of these sides of his nature working to the advantage of the reader's understanding of how great was the pull of the frontier on an imaginative, highly educated officer of the United States army. Moreover, the troops assigned to the West were fighting a war for which they had no liking; and the Indians—now pillaging, now being pillaged—confessed to the same distaste when they told General Lane that their "hearts were sick of war." (See note 1.)

A nine-month span (March 26-Dec. 25, 1853) is covered by the letters. Some three weeks before they begin, Millard Fillmore had been succeeded as president of the United States by Franklin Pierce, who defeated Gen. Winfield Scott, 254 electoral votes to 42. Pierce, though a New Englander, chose Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as his secretary of war, and the reforms advocated by the latter in his report of December 1, 1853, enter like the responses of a litany when read in connection with the letters—Captain Alden voicing his own and his associates' complaints regarding the administration of the army and Davis's recommendations pointing out what should be done for correction of the abuses. On May 2, 1853, only two days before Pierce's inauguration, Washington was made into a territory from land formerly within Oregon, which had been given territorial status in 1848, so that some confusion will be noticed in the superscription of the letters in assigning Fort Vancouver to its proper political division. World affairs enter into the correspondence: Edward Everett's conduct of the negotiations with France and Great Britain with respect to Cuba is enthusiastically commended; the fact that a revolution was in progress in China to drive out the Tatars is mentioned by one of the captain's correspondents, preceded by a brief comment on Oriental market possibilities [see note 63 below]; and, while on the subject of the Pacific, the reader might be reminded that on July 14, 1853, Commodore Matthew C. Perry landed on the shore of the Bay of Yedo (Tokyo), and by the following spring had succeeded in concluding the first treaty to be signed between the United States and Japan, among its provisions being the opening of certain Japanese ports to American trade. From the breadth of Captain Alden's admiration for the flora, etc., etc., along his march from Fort Vancouver to Fort Jones, one would be justified in assuming that his interest would not be confined to Asia merely as a field for plucking investment bargains.

The letters are written partly in the form of a diary: some begin with strictly family concerns and bear a date and place (inscribed in the upper right-hand corner) later than the diary entries, which are introduced along the left margin, or, at times, in the middle of a line. Captain Alden punctuated profusely with small dashes. For convenience in printing, many of these dashes have been replaced by commas.

Mar. 26.—. . . Two Indians are before my door, with two rugged and kittenish looking little bear cubs. One of the companies has bought them for pets, I hear. Officers and soldiers often are wondrous lonely and low-spirited at all out of the way stations. Pets are natural enough amusements for lonely men. . . . The other evening, as I strolled in to cheer up old Col. Bonneville,[6] he rose up to receive me, half asleep: ". . . Jove, Sir! Do you know, between you and me, I felt so lonely and restless tonight I had half a mind to go up to my bedroom and take a few drinks to myself, just to drown thought and get a little boosy."

He never drinks, but many officers at out of the way stations get boosy as he says, just to drown care. We are fortunate in not having one drinking man at this post. . . .

Mar. 28.— . . . The stir now in my company is a marching stir—shoeing mules, mending wagons and pack saddles, breaking in mules and drivers, packing pork in sacks, roasting coffee, baking hard bread, gathering information of the road, the grass, the water, the fords, etc. The English botanist & ornithologist [John Jeffrey][7] is to accompany me, a great acquisition. These English people in the Hudson's Bay store are very unlike any business people we have seen. In their large store every thing lies about open and neglected. They manifest no anxiety to sell you any thing altho' they are very polite. The store, too, is shut up for an hour at 12 M. and closes altogether at sunset. . . .

. . . My rooms are very nice—large fireplace, center table and handsome chairs, matting and a rug etc. In the hall, I hang up a lantern until eleven o'clock. Our fare at the mess is quite poor. I shall have much better after I commence my march. I shall sell my furniture[8] fortunately for what I paid, but I shall take my charming pony along with me. . . . I shall be stirring for thirty days, on the march nearly every day—seeing new sights, meeting with the varieties that 40 mules will not fail to develop. . . . Our old frisky Colonel [Bonneville] says, "My dear Captain—you'll be all alive, up there in the mountains 5000 feet above the sea-shore. Your lungs will have no load to carry. They'll trot off at a gallant pace, brisk and free as air, while here—why here, we poke about . . . not much better than so many flies caught in a molasses jug."

Mar. 29.—To-day we are feasting ourselves with thoughts of the mail, expected to-morrow. Too cruel was the fate that kept back our last—making it now a month since your last. . . .[9]

Mar. 31st.—Your sweet letter of Feb. 10th has just arrived. . . . Get Col. [W. F.] Freeman to enclose the letters for "Fort Jones, Scotts valley, California" to the Asst. Adjt. Genl. at San Francisco—All is smiling and favorable here as at the first. . . . The mail came a day before its time, and leaves a day before its time, confounding every body's mail. . . .

Apr. 6.—A day after the regular mail of 31st March—the back mail came, bringing the missing letters, by the steamer from New York, of Feb. 5th. . . . All day I have been on the alert superintending the *drilling* of my *mules* . . . and the careful beforehand arrangements that I have to make for this march of 375 miles. . . . The minutiae are endless. . . . For three days I have had a new excitement . . . the appearance of Alvord,[10] in blouse and rough overcoat, hatchet and canteen, excited with three days travel. . . . He seems to be increasing in the faculty he possesses of enjoying life, nature, history, men, books, acting, thinking, and dreaming. . . . We are all laughing at him, admiring him, and enjoying his gossip, earnestness, and intelligence. . . . Alvord is uncouth as old Dr. Johnson and not unlike him. He told a queer story of Bloomerism[11] at table yesterday. . . . He said, "Bloomerism has done wonders for Oregon—all the women emigrants, who cross the plains, dress in that style. . . ." He is to be with me a week.

Apr. 8th.—After guard mounting, I attended to company duty and preparations for the march . . . at 3 I dined and at 4½ P.M. drilled my company till parade. After parade came tea—and then I got to my room, alone, lit my candles, and thought I had a good time to write, but like moths to the candle in stumbled my visitors and kept me near two hours. . . . They cannot stay in their quarters, not one of them, and as my quarters are cheery, my lights good and they all like me, in they saunter, nearly every night. I set them singing when I can—and some of them sing right well. Last night, Thomas L. Brent, Christopher Colon Augur and the Adjutant were in, and I cleared off the table and had a nice, refreshing game of whist until 10 o'clock. . . . You do not know how much I long to be with you. . . . I thank God that the idea of *duty* is paramount to every thing else—and my greatest solace.

Apr. 9th.—[wholly personal].

Apr. 11th.— . . . Three nights since, the band gave me a serenade, and then went round to the other houses. It was very pleasant. . . . Mr. Everetts letter to the French minister on the tripartite treaty[12] has challenged our unbounded admiration. He seems to have shot up into a loftier growth, since the shadow of Mr. Websters genius has been removed.

Apr. 13th.—This is a very pretty spot. The long meadows of the Hudson's Bay Company stretch away towards Mount Hood very nicely skirted with tufts of trees on the river bank and dotted with the company's herds of sheep,

CAPTAIN BRADFORD RIPLEY ALDEN

Reproduced, through the courtesy of Mrs. R. A. Derby of New York, from the John F. Weir painting in the Plebs' Club Room at West Point.

cows & horses.[13] The shadows of the clouds are peculiar in the way they reach the ground and very striking—the shadow and the cloud answering to each other as two ends of the long dusky cylinder of shade between. . . . I am not sorry to leave here. I am run down and bored to death by the idle jabbering of my good friends . . . they are too idle and too kind. My file of receipts, my a/c book, my company affairs are most satisfactory. You would like to peep in & see how I *imitate* you. Little things are often the points on which a whole life hangs. . . . I hear of no Indians to fight, any where out here and am not sorry. If I were one of these idle young officers, however, I think I should esteem an Indian war as preferable to the penitentiary of army life. I pity the officers—they are not happy, and there are plenty of occupations out of the army as honorable,[14] such as superintending two or three saw-mills on the Susquehanna, engaging in timber or coal, raising cattle and wheat on *your* farm, taking Presidency or Treasury of an Insurance or Rail-Road Comp'y—or of some college (even), making paper, glass or soap (even), expressing oil or dipping into a sugar refinery, making salt, ropes or potash, powder, shot or guns, engaging in manufacture of white lead, flour or cement, lime, blankets or books, newspapers, houses, gardening—In truth I am carefully looking about at all these things, and do not despair of my perseverance. . . . When out of the army I have my chance with other citizens for appointment in the customs, mint, etc. etc. also, but this would be no departure. . . . I have made friends of two heads of the great express companies of New York, and shall extend my acquaintance to gain as many strings to my bow as possible. I see *all* the obstacles and difficulties clearly and calmly and yet am firm in the conviction that I can succeed. . . .

I have been surprised at the delay of my good friend Brent, the Qr. Master, in fitting out my forty mules, six wagons, 36 pack saddles, six citizen teamsters, etc. etc. . . . We have news of the death of Lt. E. Russell of this regiment.[15] He had a brush with Indians (so say the papers). . . . He is known in the regiment as a brave but reckless man. This happened south of my Fort Jones about 50 miles, as far as I can learn. These Indian troubles it is supposed here will be settled by the force which will be concentrated there, before I reach my post. There, I shall have a larger command than at any other post in the regiment, viz., my company, two of dragoons, and perhaps one other sup'y comp'y, but while the dragoons are out, escorting trains and protecting the road, the Infantry is to remain at the post to make gardens and keep the post in order!—This of itself would be sufficient to induce me to resign, and as soon as things are quiet there in June, if you do not say nay positively and absolutely, I propose to do so.

Apr. 14.—[Your letters of Mar. 2d and 3d] convince me that it is my plain duty to give up this Army life—for your sake. . . . You need repose and peace and the calm joy of a home. . . . San Francisco would not hold me a moment with all its prospect of gold and fortune. . . . The longer I remain out here the greater the chance of my becoming entangled in these fine-spun obligations of Army nets and refinements. . . .[16]

Columbia Bks. Oregon
Apr. 15th—1853

My dear Annie—

I have written my long letter directed to York [Pa.]—and now complete the unfinished long letter to Cornwall. I have directed one also to Washington. I am so much concerned for your health, and so remorseful for my declining to resign long ago, and using our common means for a career, that I wish you to tell Genl. Scott that my resignation is in your hands. . . . I care nothing for the inglorious warfare with these poor Indians. . . . Please let me know how my bank book stands with the bank of America. . . .

My next may *possibly* not reach you for a month, as the interior of Oregon mails are irregular. . . . Continue directing to care of Asst. Adgt. Genl. [Edward D.] Townsend, at San Francisco, for "Fort Jones, Scotts valley, Cal."

Columbia Bks. Oregon
Apr. 21st—1853

Apr. 21.—To-morrow at 11 I take up the march to California, thoroughly equipped with six wagons drawn by six mules each and a herd of 60 under charge of my Qr. M[aste]r. The preparations on the part of Brent, the Asst. Qr. Mr., have been going on for a month, engrossing all his men and means, apparently as completely as if my company were a little army. We expect confidently to march to-morrow. . . . It was by the last mail, sent from here the 15th, that I sent you, dear Annie, my resignation, requesting you to have it accepted and sent to Genl. Hitchcock [see note 2] immediately, and I feel a stronger man since that moment . . . make no delay but have the acceptance sent to Genl. Hitchcock, subject to his selection of time, depending on the nature of the service, its importance etc. etc. . . . I would not leave San Francisco, however, until I knew that it was safe to cross the Isthmus. If I had to remain at San F. a month or more, the time spent there would not be thrown away. I could begin my career of business there, and might also form business relations of the greatest value to me.

You do not know how unhappy these married officers are whose wives are left in the East.[17] It is a cruel slavish life and they all feel it to be so, except the old stagers—of 55 and 60—whose hearts have become hardened and who have gone so far into the stream that they consider it as well to keep on as to go back. They are generally idle, longing and restless. I have many advantages over them and especially in my faculty of keeping *everlastingly* employed. Books which of late years I have not held in so much esteem I confess I begin to value again. . . . They all envy me my march, its stir and variety. . . .

My great release is occupation—constant occupation. Since I have begun to keep my accounts and items of expense, I find it a pleasure, and the sight of my bill-stickers is as good as a picture. Enter, my dear Annie, into occupation, I beseech you . . . read and take notes. Notice, as Berkeley says, all of God's thoughts in the world.[18] Every created thing is a thought of God . . . perhaps above all, music, in which I hope I shall be interested, from my native perseverance if I undertake it, stimulated as I shall be by love for you. I hope you will practice on the piano[19] an hour a day for me, and enjoy every chance of hearing music. . . . Remember too that you owe me the duty of caring for your health—therefore throw other cares overboard. Ride, sing, read, walk, admire and be absorbed in the little children. Use small dumbbells twice a day, and never, never permit yourself to be anxious for me. I know that God is above us and near us and disposes of us, altogether for the best . . . cheerful and trustful confidence. Try it, once . . . give your heart to it . . . repeat it twice (if it be not amiss, to make the comparison) do it with the spirit and tone which enabled Percy to take the rhubarb, fixing his teeth, clenching his little hand, planting his foot and while holding the bitter dose saying slowly, "Come on, my old rhubarb, I'll see if I can't take you."

I am not deceiving myself, dear Annie, with the fancy that only once with you again all will be eternally right and easy. I know better. . . . It will be victory indeed the day I reach you again, but it is a common proverb in military life that after a victory there is a world to be done—or the General may loose his whole advantage, the efforts and labour of a whole campaign. . . . Do not smile when I say that riding in the woods or alone in my room, I throw off, often, a whole load of care and am miraculously relieved by shouting out with full throat some terrible snatch of a hymn, chant or song. All men have this reserve, I find—where ladies only sigh. Try it sometimes, I beg you.

I cross the Columbia here and follow the Williamette [*sic*] river up between the Cascade and Coast range of mountains; then I cross the Umpqua and Rogue rivers, the Siskiou [*sic*] mountains near the California line and in forty miles I am at Fort Jones. . . . It is unquestionably the most fertile part of Oregon. . . . My English botanist [see note 7] is to join me at the Umpqua with his books, specimens and his own old body. He is a great wind-fall. The packers are travelling precisely this route every two weeks to Yreka, 20 miles from my post, and the express man goes alone to Fort Jones with our letters which reach here before you have heard of the change. When you send these to Genl. Hitchcocks Asst. Adgt. Genl. as I mentioned in my former letters, they will reach me by land from San Francisco. No Indians are on the route and I suppose my company is to do police duty at the post while the dragoons scour the country. Some six weeks after I reach my post my resignation will, I hope, be accepted. . . .

Apr. 22.—The boat was not ready to-day but to-morrow we cross the river. . . . This is a short letter but I may have a chance of sending you another on the march. I intended to write to Percy and Sarah but must be content now with but a few words. The other day the ground near us (8 miles) was covered with a yellowish sand thrown, it is supposed, from Mt. St. Helens which is volcanic.[20] Last night I heard when out, at 10 o'clock, a little cry like the complaining of a strong baby and found it came from the companys little bear cub which had been put out in an outhouse and was crying sharply to be let in to the warm room. So it seems that little bears feel neglect as well as little children. The soldiers opened their theatre two nights since and played very well, so well that once all the women near me were sobbing piteously. . . .

Apr. 23.—We are off in an hour. My friends are all with me to bid goodbye. With worlds of love. . . .

Near Oregon City
Apr. 26th—1853

My dear Annie—

For these four days since I left Columbia Bks. . . . from dawn of day until sunset I have been on my feet or on horseback. Every hour has been full of excitement and absorbing interest. The little emergencies of every moment have compelled all old anxieties to silence. . . . On the 23d we crossed my six wagons, forty mules, three horses and my fifty men and baggage over the Columbia river, killed a fine buck and enjoyed the first camp fire and fare, three miles from the ferry. The 24th being Sunday we gained but six miles, and encamped at two P.M. The experience of these parts of two days gave us worlds of mending, re-arranging, reconnoitring, etc. for that day. The 25th was full of mud-holes, ruts, short turns, bogging of mules and the breaking of an iron axle. We commenced packing some of the mules that day—a variety amusing to the men, reminding them of the Isthmus. We reached camp at sunset the 25th. When I and Lt. [Jos. W.] Collins rode ahead three miles to examine the road, which I had sent him to reconnoitre two days before our departure from the Bks., we found a bridge had been swept away, and returned to camp at 8½ P.M. very hungry but not at all fatigued. Supper and sleep were real luxuries. This morning, half an hour before sunrise, I left camp with a party of seven men with axes, augers, etc. and reaching the ruins of the bridge, my men fell to work with cross-cut saw, spades, axes, etc. with a zest, good-will and intelligence that was worth witnessing. Eight men more came up at 10 A.M. and at 12 M. our bridge was completed and the first teams, let down the bank by drag ropes, crossed. In an hour all crossed, and then climbing a hill 250 feet high we camped near the Falls of the Williamette [*sic*], in sight of Oregon city at 4 P.M. The bridge building was as exciting as a fox chase and the crossing of the six wagons, with six mules each, every loaded wagon requiring thirty men to assist, was quite intense. . . . Here we broke another wagon which will be repaired by six A.M. tomorrow. My Lieut. and Qr. Mr. Collins is very knowing about wagons, mules, etc. . . . a good mud and water soldier. His wife will join us in five days.

I hoped to have time to write to-day but visitors from the town have interrupted me until now, past nine o'clock. It is quite cold and I am full of regret that I have been kept from my journal. This march . . . has everything that I could wish for, exercise of the most varied kind, enough fatigue only to make sleep sweet, to settle my mind and to brace up my body, nerves and mind to a key that might even compare with a tour in Europe. This of course is partly the contrast with the weary life of the Bks., but partly because I really like the stir of a march and the healthy exercise that makes the perspiration start from every pore. The complete success of all my plans and contrivances in every little emergency is another element.

The first day out the little bear followed the men and whined and complained constantly at being occasionally made to walk. The next morning the poor little soul was found dead. . . . A mule kicked one of the men badly in the mans heel and to-day a man cut his heel with an axe. I sent for a physician and was surprised that he would take no fee. . . .

Marysville [present-day Corvallis], Oregon
May 3—1853

My dear Annie—

. . . I camped at this town on the Williamette last evening, having made only 100 miles in nine days march, further than every one supposed we could gain in that time. It has been a constant excitement, full of responsibility, exercise, magnificent scenery, early rising and freedom from fearful anxieties. Indeed I have had so many difficulties to overcome and so much pressing practical work to do, that the present of every hour has been enough for itself. Certainly I have never seen more charming landscapes in any quarter, even Italy and England, than on my route. I could not convey an impression of their peculiar beauty. Your letters by the last mail are to reach me to-morrow. . . . There are 300 miles yet to march to Fort Jones and full of interest and novelty. My Lieut. is a trump . . . and his wife . . . a good cook. We take up our marching very soon, changing here the plan of transportation and packing forty mules. The men are active, obedient and interested and if you had not to suffer, I think the adventure and experience of this march would repay (almost) my journey to this land. . . .

I am as brown as a hazel nut and endure fatigue and labour beyond my expectation entirely. By the time I reach Fort Jones I shall be a new man. I am firm in my satisfaction with my resignation entrusted to your hands. . . . The weather has been showery and the roads muddy and boggy. I write in a store in this town, full of people buying bacon, oysters, powder, leggins, ale, lead, whisky, pack saddles, etc. and I fear that I interrupt the keeper of the store and have to close this short dispatch, much to my annoyance. A steel pen is as hard for me to drive as a plough would be. Tell Percy we caught a little live snipe and found a kildees nest with three eggs. The squirrels are nearly as large as our rabbits. I sleep on the ground and rise before sunrise.... Tell him I have met several little boys older than he who cannot spell a single word and want to learn....

May 8th—1853

My dear Annie—

I encamped yesterday evening 150 miles south of Ft. Vancouver and 10 miles north of the California mountains. This is Sunday, and if all had been perfectly smooth I should have stopped to rest for Sunday but yesterday we had two wagons broken and would have been compelled to remain here until they were mended. The march continues as exciting and as full of responsibility as at the first:—the most beautiful scenes imaginable, constant exercise of mind and body, excellent appetite, no fatigue and the most confiding and hopeful thoughts of you and the little children. I am up always at or before sunrise and from that moment until the days march ends, about 4 P.M., I am on the qui vive, looking ahead. No sooner have the wagons emerged from one desperate quagmire than a mile or two ahead another is to be apprehended; then a bridge is to be built, then a desperate, sliding hill is to be crossed, sometimes requiring forty men at the wheels and pulling on strong ropes, crossing the wagons and stretching on the upper side of the road to prevent the wagons from upsetting. For two days I was in the mud up to my knees and bespattered with mud and water from top to toe. For three days of the march it rained day and night. I was wet all the time during the day but never was better in health.

It is now my 16th day of marching and such rude and laborious exercise for so many days at a stretch I have never experienced in my life, and to my surprise not an ache or weary feeling in bone or limb have I felt for one moment. But this blessing I confess had become almost necessary, for the routine of dull life and stagnation at Vancouver had become really hard to bear....

My lieutenants wife and her soldier cook the meals and we eat in my tent. Yesterday I shot a California pigeon, a large bird with a white ring round the neck and a dusky grouse. The grouse was a cock and tho' out of season was good for the table. The rest on Sunday is a blessed relief for all, men and women and cattle. I enjoyed it greatly from 5 until 9 this morning, when I found that the pork which I had packed on ten mules was wasting so much in the sun that I had to make new arrangements to preserve it, and then a bridge three miles ahead was broken down by a wagon which passed over yesterday.[21] So at one o'clock I started off with ten men and spent three hours in repairing the bridge. This was necessary, however. We had no quagmires to plump into and no travel and the animals spent the day in luxury in the grass.

Great are our experiences with the pack train, and various the devices to make it work well. My arms are growing stronger, my hair thicker, my health fresher and my hopes better. I wish I had a warmer place to write in, and I might say so much more and could tell Percy that we saw several yellow spiders to-day, how the grove at our encampment last night looked like one of God's blessed churches, how beautiful my pony looks, and how affectionate he is, how hard-hearted the people out here are where they have had no church for 18 months, of the two young deer we saw yesterday and of the cranes and wild geese that fly high over our heads as the clouds, etc. etc. But I forgot to say that to-morrow promises to bring your letters which reached Vancouver a week after I left—blessed anticipation....

Winchester, Oregon
May 14—1853

My dear Annie—

I reached the ferry over the North Umpqua river last evening and in spite of the trout and the delicious strawberries and the charming landscape and the stir of the blood from the movements of the march, I would sacrifice them all and much more if the express agent would only quicken his pace and bring me those blessed letters of yours, brought to Vancouver two weeks since. I am somewhat consoled, however, with the prospect of his coming along in three days, bringing two mails together. The breaking of our wagons, the frequent disappearing of our mules in the morning, the steep hills on hills that we cannot escape climbing, and the deep swampy holes that are equally unavoidable, have retarded the march so much that, altho' some days I have gained 15-16 miles, yet the average has been but 10 miles a day.[22] They are not however 10 sluggish miles. The stoppages are generally of such a character as to call forth all our energy and invention and then when the obstacle is crossed we often have quite smooth going for many miles, my horse full of spirit to dash forward, the Germans lightening the way with good rich singing and all quite happy. Certainly I never have seen a more beautiful country, and I have imbibed enough of late to last me, I trow, for a life-time. The prairies are sprinkled with fragrant old-fashioned johnny jumpups, and the pink in its native soil, and the sloping hill sides are yellow, purple and crimson in broad acres of flowers. The verdure is as rich as England—and all so rich and soft that I was not surprised to learn that it was too beautiful to last, for before June has passed the drought has set in, and in July the grass is all gray as dried hay. The drought is the great drawback.

We met with plenty of strawberries three days since at Applegates on Elk Creek.[23] The people are rude as rude can be, tho' very shrewd and independent. I have been amused at their consummate cunning in making a bargain. I assure you I have not time for dreaming. The day is full of practical work and the evening has to be spent in providing for the contingencies of the next morning.

The first annoyance I had the 12th when five men deserted at night.[24] Nothing has been heard of them yet but I have made such dispositions to apprehend them that I do not despair of picking up one or two of them yet. I should not be surprised however if half of the remaining forty should desert before I reach my mountain. But as this would be no fault of mine it would not give me great concern. As I approach California, accounts of Scotts valley become more and more flattering. The Applegates say it is a beautiful plateau and wonderful for grazing; the snow mountains [Mt. Shasta, 14,161 ft.] in view far surpass Mount Hood [11,225 ft.] and Mt. St. Helens [10,000 ft.]. Frost is seen nearly every morning in summer and the health of the valley undoubted.

A man in this country must overcome his neighbors or he will be overcome. An officer of the army is expected to be lordly and somewhat domineering. Reserve and independence were quite characteristic both in California and Oregon. My health continues vigorous and excellent. My muscles are like leather, all superfluous flesh has disappeared, and in my California hat, overboots and mustachios I venture to say you would not know your petulant and uncomfortable husband of last year. There are no Indians on my track and before the cold of September begins in my valley I pray that my resignation may be completed.... In about twenty days I expect to finish the march.

Fort Jones,[25] Scotts valley, Cal.
May 31st—1853

My dear Annie—

This day at 10 A.M. I reached my post in this secluded valley, and better far than reaching the place where I am Commandant I touched your sweet letter of March [?] brought to San Francisco by Mr. Trowbridge. There is a treasury of your letters in the possession of Adam & Co.'s express [see note 9] which I expect the 3d of June—better than many a gold mine, for would you believe it, since the 10th of April I had not seen a letter of yours until my arrival here this day! The post offices and expresses are in combination, it seems, and between them they have failed to bring me a single letter from Vancouver for these 40 days. You may imagine my vexation and even distress, but extreme as my trouble was, this letter of yours in answer to mine from San Francisco of Feb. 9th has made me light-hearted as a boy to-day, and now I am bright with hope again for the 3d of June for those on the way in Oregon and those that I expect direct from San Francisco.

... Before I left Vancouver I made the closest arrangements with the express company for the forwarding of your letters to me, and on my march I met with an agent going from Yreka to Vancouver and in person made the most positive engagements with him to have them sent after me. He took my watch with him to Vancouver for a new crystal, and yet up to this time neither watch nor letter has appeared. The agent at Yreka assures me that such delays sometimes occur by reason of changes in the plans of the company, but that, though delayed, the packages never fail at last to come to their address. Tho' these delays have given me the greatest uneasiness, they have given me a rich harvest to reap, when the 3d of June arrives, in 4 days.

My march was made in 37 days (three days less than I had laid out for when I left Vancouver). It was full of interesting incidents & experiences and it seems to me that I have had a view of all the scenery that the world affords in every variety—mountains and valleys, deserts and flowery prairies, high mountains brilliant with snow one day, and the next over ranges of volcanic hills as desert as the regions of Arabia in the times of Job and Moses. For two days we were encamped on a trout stream where we picked up specks of gold from the shore and gathered delicious strawberries on the bank. The wolf and the rattlesnake have crossed our paths and yesterday, for the first time, I met the grizzly bear.[26] It was not dangerous—a hunter had him cut up, packed on his horse, covered by his shaggy skin. He had killed him but two miles from my camp—but I have too many things to say that I have to forego to say more of bears & wolves.

Yreka turned out its enterprising population yesterday to see the Captain from Vancouver and his company march through the town. They were as serious and respectful as the good people that you saw at the inauguration.

. . . My reception here by the officers of the two dragoon companies of this post was of that character of mingled deference and affection that I have so often met with and which certainly is always very pleasant. I am to assume command to-morrow of my post and valley and all promises as fair as I could imagine. Pardon, dear Annie, this rapid and most unsatisfactory note. I am not full of leisure to-day, believe me, and it is only by a sort of chance that I learn there is an opportunity by which I may possibly get this to you by the steamer of the 7th.

Well and in good hope. . . . I may possibly be able to write again sending you a map, diary etc. . . .

Everything comes here by pack trains at 20¢ a pound from Shasta City. It is perfectly healthy but I might be ordered to a very unhealthy region, therefore I am bent on your accepting my resignation. I am to be stationed here quite permanently. We are about 30 miles from Oregon and 100 from the sea on Scotts river.

We are five days by express from San Francisco. Butter is $2 a pound, eggs $3 a dozen, hams $5 a piece, potatoes $15 a bushel and everything else in proportion.

It is a shut in valley surrounded by mountains of snow. Two miles distant from a neck of land we see Mount Shasta or Shasta Butte, as they call it—the noblest snow mountain my eyes ever beheld. I send a little flower.

I have two dragoon companies who are to scout while I remain to dig wells, make quarters, etc.

Fort Jones, Scotts valley
June 1st—1853

My dear Annie—

My rapid and unsatisfactory note of yesterday is waiting three miles from here for the express, whose day is changed for one day later, giving me a few hours more to venture a few words more. . . . On my march I am surprised to discover now how little I wrote in the way of journal. The main military incidents, the distance travelled, the creeks, the prairies, ferries, fords, mountains, sloughs etc. I noted in my main book every day, but writing was almost out of the question. Cold evenings, constant occupation and oversight for the present and for the next day, constantly occurring difficulties and emergencies to be met at once gave me no opportunity or convenience. I never read a book but the Bible and that not very often. The march of the children of Israel to the promised land certainly became endowed with a new light and interest, their forty years and my forty days had many more points of resemblance than you would imagine—Syria and Palestine and Arabia were spread before me daily. So much for imagination.

. . . I had in charge a herd of 60 mules to keep note of. Six wagons drawn by 36 mules to keep an eye to and some 50 men to instruct, take care of, watch etc. and in spite of watching eight deserted on the route beyond recovery, but the remaining 40 are wonderfully (or as [?] would say, marvellously) well behaved. At the canyon I found that I had to abandon my wagons and pack everything on mules. Here then was a theatre for invention on which we did not fail to rehearse our parts well before we exhibited our train through the canyon. So one day with 50 mules packed, with muskets, camp kettles, axes, spades, tents, hard bread, pork, saws, trunks, boxes, sacks of clothing, flour, sugar, coffee and all we entered the mouth of the canyon, Saturday the 21st.

My fifer, a young Irishman mounted on a trotting mule, led the train. I rode up to the head when they were a mile in the pass and found Desmond, the boy fifer, in great distress. Leading the train, as he did, he supposed that he was responsible for all that would befall all that followed. "Och, Captain," he cried, "shure we'll niver git these craturs through this place" . . . before we had got half a mile further I found that he was more than half right and that we could not get thro' before night. I therefore ordered a retreat and back we went to camp.

Next day we tried again bright and early, and threaded the defile of 12 miles without any serious trouble. . . . This famous canyon or pass, thro' which in the Umpqua mountains all the travel has to go from the Columbia river to California, is about 80 miles from the California line, north.

On my arrival at this Post I found written instructions from Col. Wright,[27] comd'g the district, directing me to send an exploring party to the sea—to Paragon Bay—to endeavor to discover a better pack trail route for supplying the post and also I am to dispatch the two companies of dragoons the 1st of July, 60 miles east near Klamath and Rhett Lake, to protect emigrants coming in this year.[28] Meanwhile my men are to build a hospital, store room, quarters etc. We are therefore to be very peaceably employed and again the Fates deprive me of the glories of war, and I am perfectly content.

I visited the scene of Kearny's fight with the Rogue River Indians on my march and the spot where poor Jimmy Stuart was killed and buried. Nobody it seems is killed by Indians here without some improvident exposure. So it was last March with Lt. [Edmund] Russell of my Regiment, and so with Stuart.[29] My dragoon officers are [Charles Henry] Ogle & [Thomas Foster] Castor, [Richard Carlton Walker] Radford & [Isaiah N.] Moore. Capt. Gardner [John Wm. Tudor Gardiner] is expected soon. Nothing could surpass their affectionate deference & respect, and nothing shall occur on my part to give them reason to change. The dragoons are helter skelter, sure enough. Altho' in a well-watered valley, all the water for washing & drinking is packed in kegs on mules a mile. There is not a washing tub within 16 miles, not a pane of glass in any room at the post, and floors are of quite hard ground. A *cat* costs here and at Yreka (16 miles north east) six dollars, and a hen $5.00. A tin box (ordinary size) of blacking is one dollar, & so on to the end. A common broom is one dollar, etc. While I write my sergeant comes to report that there is no yeast in the country, and that there is but one small ten-gallon keg to pack the water and no vessel to keep it at the comp'y camp. I have managed however to supply him with another keg, and to-day sent to Yreka for a half barrel as washing tub. I am glad, after all, really glad you sent the daguerreotypes, but where are they? No news of 'em yet. . . .

Fort Jones, Scotts valley, Cal.
June 6th—1853

My dearest wife—

Yesterday the precious letters of March 25th and Apr. 5th came from Vancouver to bless me in this valley. I am full of work and papers and have not a moment to say a word more. I pray that those notes from Fort Roger Jones (as I suppose it was intended to be called) [see not 25] may reach you safely. In a few days I shall have leisure to explore the ravines, gold bars of this New Switzerland.[30] I received the certificate of deposit for $3000 and shall endeavor not to make a bad use of it. Please let the cashier know of the receipt.

I am here in a new land and life is in its elements. The young people slip along very easily, and it rests with me to supply first, absolutely, Bread, and water, then a kettle to boil meat, next a kettle to boil clothes, to wash, then a tub scooped out of cedar, then a trough for bread out of the cedar. Providentially there is a brewery in Yreka,[31] and hops and yeast; and providentially it would seem, from the late frosts of this high region (perhaps 4000 feet above the sea), we are not too late to plant potatoes, tomatoes, onions & cabbage. Money is here 8, 9, 10 per cent a month; potatoes $22 a bushel;

butter $2.00 a pound. This country groans for the observance of the Lord's day.... Surely I never saw & felt its Divinity as I have here....

Yreka, Cal.
June 9th—1853

My dear Annie—

... I am here to day to arrange for the exploration I am to send to Paragon Bay, and find myself distrusting every man who talks fair. My experience will make me wary enough.

My valley is sixteen miles from this thriving town, and a beautiful healthy valley as there is in the world. So high are we above the sea that to-morrow I purchase *one* bushel of potatoes at $24.00 to plant, and plant corn, tomatoes etc. to-morrow—

I have written you three letters from my post since June 1st and now venture this note because it is the 9th of June, my day of days [their wedding anniversary]....

In excellent health and spirits and full of hope and love....

P.S.—Were it not for the dreadful absence—both for you and me—when I resign, by nine months delay in this land I might double any money I had—

Fort Jones, Scotts valley, Cal.
June 16—1853

My dear Annie—

The 14th brought an order from Col. Wright to despatch 25 of my dragoons to Benicia for Williamson's escort in his Railroad Exploration.[32] I have got them off this morning and one man remains to carry despatches. The same order put me in command of "Fort Jones and its dependencies." Never in West Point busiest times have I had busier times than here. Every thing to be done and nothing to do it with—boats to be built (three), garden dug, fenced, planted; floors laid, roofs covered, etc. etc. Absolutely I have had no time either for quiet or for moodiness, and it is a good thing for me. God be thanked for it. Your letter of May 5th came unexpectedly the 13th, giving me great pleasure.... How anxious I should have been had I known of your weeks confinement in bed. As for a tooth less, I know—such is the witchery of the very air around you—that I shall only like you the better. . . . The other night, at 12 o'clock, a tramp and scratch at my door was followed by a call—The Captain—I felt for my revolver in the spur of the moment, and laughed when the man halloed out—Express for Captain Alden. Odd enough if I had fired a bullet into one of your letters, so precious to me!

Tell Percy I found a lark's nest with beautiful eggs and a gentle little lark near my quarters. A kanjaroo mouse, who had gnawed a hole in my grey light overcoat when he panted in the cats clutches, was an odd creature. My horse is the most gallant and noble fellow this winding valley has ever known.

The Chinese appealed to me to-day for protection against three Indians who robbed them.[33] A gallop of 15 miles in this valley is nothing, and my health was never better. For three days past the thermometer has been at 90 in the shade but by adopting your mode of keeping the room dark I am perfectly cool. I have to act the Genl. Jackson out here.[34] It is the only way. Fortunately I know my strength and never make mistakes where reason and principle are concerned.

Julia Bayard's red and blue slippers are the brightest and most ornamental objects in my room. They take every body's eyes and are really valuable. My things are arranged with excellent order and I am surprised at the comfort and excellence of order. Our fare is as simple almost as Daniel's in the Bible—rice & beans, bread, milk, butter & Spanish beef, with dried peaches and occasional onions.[35] This is all we have and all we want. . . .

My dear little Sarah must remember that her dear father will be sorry to hear that she squeals like a cat. I love the children dearly and will tell them soon of my cat and the squirrels here, the busy woodpecker who digs holes in the pine trees and fills them up with acorns; of the storm of hail and the rumbling we hear in the mountains when the snow breaks down from the tops.

How unsatisfactory this seems to me, but I write as it were in a battlefield—pack trains unloading, dragoons just tramped off, letters, requisitions on Col. Wright to get off etc. . . .

Fort Jones, Cal.
June 21st—1853

My dear Annie—

This is the first really quiet day I have had for you since my arrival here. It is true. I have plenty of . . . letters to write and responsibilities peeping out every day, and to-day and to-morrow have their share, but when I finish up the duties of the day it is all done and I may rest for a great part of the next without the incubus of behind work to be hanging on my shoulders. Yours of the 2d May came also, with power enough to brace me up for any weight. And the news has come from Genl. Hitchcock that Henry Scott is Inspector General.[36] What praise and thanksgiving I should render to God for the bright hopes this event has for me. I am already preparing—to myself—to turn over my command of this valley and its dependencies to my next in command, and with great joy. I who six months since considered myself so unfortunate in being projected, as it were, out of the world into blackness and the regions of chaos, am looked upon here as the most fortunate of men. Plenty of officers are out in this Godless land, long and far from wives & children—poor and helpless and with no hopes of release but in political intrigue.[37] It is sad enough, and I long to do some thing for them, but am powerless. . . .

Fort Jones, Scotts valley, Cal.
June 26th—1853

My dear Annie—

In the midst of many public papers I sent you a letter the 22d or 23d—in great hopes of the appointment of Henry Scott. Genl. Hitchcock had specially informed our young Dr. [Charles Henry] Crane of Henry S's appointment and I was quite sure of it, indeed calmly and soberly sure, but yesterday brought the Baltimore Sun with the distinct announcement of Col. [Joseph King Fenno] Mansfield's[38] promotion to the place, but to my surprise I was not at all overwhelmed by the news. . . .

Your last was of May 2d—and now two (of the 12th and 19th) must be on the way from San Francisco. . . . I send two expresses a month to Ft. Reading on the Sacramento River, 120 miles south, on a pack train over Scotts and Trinity mountains, an adventurous road to those who do not dismount in descending the steep places. All of our provisions are packed on this trail, at an express of 20 cents for every pound. In four days the two soldiers get down, and in four return. I suppose that Mason's[39] influence with the Cabinet and Jefferson Davis' were strong enough to defeat Henry Scott & to advance an expediency man like Col. M. My young officers would much have preferred Henry Scott. They are mainly for him, and for Genl. Scott against the world. It would not however derogate in the least from their good opinion of the General if I were to mention what you say of his scrambling for place. They think indeed (as Col Freeman did about my light-house offer)[40] that a man would be considered a goose who would not "take all he could get." Delicacy in putting forth a long arm to help yourself is not the first thing men of the world think of, and the more I see of it (although it tends to allay somewhat of my sensitiveness) the more, thank God, am I resolved to maintain my own consistency, delicacy and whatever God has gifted me with, of unlikeness to greediness and selfishness. At the same time I trust . . . never to be fantastic and fanatic on this head and never to make my wife and children suffer for mere imaginary scruples etc. etc. . . . Let me express a doubt whether Genl. Scott did wrong in making application for Henry Scott. I would not have done it perhaps, but of those who would condemn him, let me assure you, there is not one out of a score of them who would not have done just as he did.

What easy mortals the younger officers I meet seem to be—nothing troubles them. They sit in the shade, smoking & chatting until they feel a little weary, and then they stretch themselves out for a quiet sleep. Newspapers are a great treat. How their breasts swell as they discuss the opera and the last fancy ball in San Francisco. They like the Home Journal[41] right well and are much obliged to N. T. Willis (puffy as he is) for the pretty covers he picks up for them and serves up so regularly, and yet, as they like me, I cannot help liking them especially as I see some of them reading their Bible on Sunday and generally standing up for some religion. What I say of them I am far from saying complainingly.

On Sunday in Yreka some 2000 miners congregate to trade at the stores and many to drink and carouse. They have lately established a little paper,[42] as big as my two hands. The other day, as I was thinking—What could I do to instruct these people of the error and folly they are pursuing—a knock at my door brought in a gentleman of the place with a special request that I should deliver the oration on the 4th of July. He prefaced his message by saying that a "desire was growing up for something better, for improvement in morals & for better organization of society," and the principal men of the town thought it would be a good beginning to select the principal man in the county to make the 4th of July the occasion of breaking ground in favor of order, law, morals and religion and therefore they earnestly requested that the com'd'g officer at the military post, Capt. Alden, should address the citizens. Well, I had three days to deliberate and under the circumstances it was impossible to decline. So in eight days, in the open air, to 3000 bold men, I—even I—who am neither Moses nor Aaron, am to raise my voice and I am not at all afraid and good may come to them and good consequence to me. Thank God I am in good health and voice. . . . Perhaps this will be a good time to let out the crowding images and sonorous phrases which, thumping in my brain, I so often let out in conversation, not so very aptly as mild and timid people may have thought, but which uttered in the open air on a raised rostrum, loud in the ears of 3000 bold men, may produce the effect of a statue which is large and rough when seen near at hand but when raised on a high pedestal in the air is all proper and fair.

Yesterday, riding to see the English botanist [see note 7], in the cool of the evening, a dusky grouse with her twelve well grown younglings whirred up from the roadside, and I could describe the pleasant surprise they gave me in terms that might seem extravagant to one who has not the game blood in his veins. Mr. Jeffries said, "You are of the same temperament as a namesake, [undecipherable] Farquharson Alden of Marly hall, who lives on his ancestral estate and hall—400 years old—in Perthshire, Scotland, and is the greatest grouse man in the shire." Grouse smitten as I am, I would not have ruffled a feather of one of those young grouselings for a sight of Mr. Farquharson Alden's old hall and the freedom of his moors for a week, for I thought of our little younglings at home, and it must have been the same feeling that led me to make my men liberate a young coyote wolf that they had with a string round his neck yesterday, worrying with the dogs. Yesterday, also, my corporal brought in three young wild ducks. They staid overnight but in the morning, lo, they had found a way to escape.

I have not suffered from hot weather a moment in this country tho' the thermometer yesterday was at 90—to-day we have fires and a little rain. My radishes, beets, turnips, pumpkins, melons, pepper and water cress, planted 8 days since, are up and flourishing. I find the altitude of this healthy valley above the sea is 2700—about the height of Catskill mountain house. I send a few sprigs of little flowers, the gentian and the "crane bill geranium," called from the crook in the stem. This valley was called formerly by Hudson bay people—Beaver valley & the river beaver river.[43] Beavers are plenty and only two years since 2000 were trapped here.

The quarters for my company are not yet built, and I am sent here to build quarters, hospital, & company store-room. In my room of 18 feet square are piled up four boxes of my comp'y clothing, and on the other side 15 muskets and 15 cartridge-boxes line the wall. Five seats of pine & cedar logs, sawed off 16 inches long and placed on end, form 5 seats worthy of one of Homers interiors.[44] Of a solid cedar tree, 2 feet long & set on end, is my standing table made. My sitting table is very nicely covered with my Chilean blanket of a sort of worsted and my mahogany gun case, presented to me at Vancouver, with brass mountings, shines like the well-burnished plates in an old Dutch kitchen. The gun case is opposite my seat and its contents are that perfect little whisk my wife gave me, the large hair brush—her gift, paper of pins, box of matches, tooth brush, razors, gloves, thread, strings wound on paper, a few bullets, a box of percussion caps, a spring vice, a screw driver, a microscope, letter stamp, a wedge of solder for tin, a punch to make holes, half dozen sailors needles, an almanack, half a dozen papers of tartaric acid, tape, buttons, a little gimlet, and the little pocket copy of Napoleon's maxims[45]—and all in their own compartments.

The experience of command of a post is not a little thing. I like it absolutely, and it is a good excellent school . . . and the respect and affection of the young officers is not a little thing. They seem (I fancy) surprised to find me a man of more than "two ideas" . . . enterprising, practical, etc. etc. They had poor water packed on mules—the new commander has dug a big well 30 feet deep. They had no bread baked—the new commander found out a baker, got hops and yeast, had dough troughs, etc. etc. made the 3d day, and now we have good bread. They had no floors—he sent to the saw mill 12 miles off and purchased boards at $80 a thousand feet. Their fresh beef spoiled and they had a hole dug in the ground to make bad worse. Now the beef is hung up in the air and keeps three days. They had no post fund—and will have one next month, and five other "had nots" I could add from which the "not" is taken away. All this I say without the least boasting, for any common army man might & would have done the same thing, but it is a good experience. . . . Percy would be delighted to see the herd of a hundred horses and fifty mules driven up every day to the *corral*, or pen, and the colt he would prefer. The young coyote looked for all the world like the fox I used to tell him a fable of, coming to visit the cat—pricked ears, cunning nose and bushy tail. We have a finch that sings sweetly at night, called by the Hudson bay people the nightingale.[46] To-morrow I propose shooting four and twenty blackbirds to bake in a pie. But I have my hands full with writing the oration, no time for more. . . .

Fort Jones, Scotts valley, Cal.
July 7th—1853

My dearest Annie—

This almost white sheet will have to tell the story of my health and good hope. My undertaking, under Providence, of the speech to the bold men &

few women of Yreka was not a small one and for many a night drove me into & past midnight. I am satisfied with the result, entirely. . . . Odd and amusing incidents occurred at the speech which I cannot now tell. . . . Ten of my men have deserted since Vancouver and ten more will go. . . . Send no more money. I have but little time for money—here. . . . Please write to my mother on receipt of this. I am as ready to resign as ever.

[Separate sheet—no date, no superscription] You would have smiled at the Pickwickian procession in Yreka the day of my speech, all as grave as judges with their drums and fife, flag, scarfs, marshall, etc. In a circle before me sat like so many Scythians 100 miners with rifles, and when the declaration was read they rose, stepped two paces forward, poked up their guns and fired a feu de joie. We were announced to the 1500 people with a contrast, thus—"The *man* who is to read the declaration is John Van Wyck," but when I had to be presented it was, "The *gentleman* who is to address you." I was cheered amply and all went off with order and gravity unprecedented.[47] The speech began thus:

"Friends and fellow citizens.—On this triumphal day in our national calendar, when we convene in virtue of the good custom of the land, our hearts beating the drum that calls us together, to pay the great day its honor due, I confess it is with no little beating of my heart that I could persuade myself to take the responsible post assigned to me, to march up & encounter the duties, the honors, the expectations with which I am confronted (and so on)—

"On the first day of the new year when friend meets friend they exchange happy greetings, wishing health and happiness for the 12 month that is to follow, and now, on this first day of our national year, it is reason good for gratitude to God that to all inquiring, from any quarter, touching the health, welfare and promise of our happy land, we can cheerfully answer—All is well. And it is right and fitting that with all our hearts we should offer here the honest, old-fashioned greeting, 'Forever, God save the Commonwealth.' "

This took famously. I will not bore you with more of it. Let it suffice that people said it was not flowery but was solid and sensible.

At last we learn that Henry Scott is not the Inspector General [see note 36]. . . .

Fort Jones, Scotts valley,
Siskiyou County, Cal.
July 9th—1853

My dearest wife—

. . . Everything is manly out here even to the wolf that walks up now and then to my tent door, and his pack that howl wildly every night from the hill. My garden, the well, the supply of wood and forage, the contracts for beef, the improvement in the bread, the care of the packs of pork, the horseshoeing of 60 horses and herding in the valley of the ninety mules, the charcoal for the blacksmith shop, and tar making for the boats, the long correspondence with Col. Wright (comd'g the district) and his leaving every thing to my judgment, the building of quarters, selection of different pines and cedars for shingles & clapboards, the preparations for sending the dragoons on the Oregon emigrant trail [see note 28], the settlement of points of duty and expenditure, the deserting of my men (ten since I left Vancouver), the rides of thirty miles a day, the speech to the miners of Yreka—and the insight I gain of men & affairs, are all manly doings. . . .

July 11.—The express has been detained, and your 1st of June letter which reached San F. 11 days since, is promised to-morrow. . . . Odd enough it seems to me out here I have been compelled to be my own clerk as I have no writer in my company. Such quantities of writing I *never* had to do in my life and it has forced me to tie up and label and endorse my files in the most systematic way, and it does not annoy me. There is something certainly congenial to me in this air, for I am infinitely better than I was at Vancouver. This valley and all this northern California is as healthy as England. You cannot imagine a purer air. The valley is but 3 or 4 miles wide, tho' south of us it widens in one beautiful place to 8 or ten. The solid mountains rise like a rim with indented lines, 2 to 4000 feet above us and are yet tipped with snow. It is all natural-looking, healthy and beautiful. My men are deserting so fast that in a months time I may not have more than a dozen left, but it is the way every where out here, and as I am not in fault it gives me no more concern. While they receive but $7.00 pr. month, common men like them receive $50 to $70 pr. month. The temptation is more than they can stand.

Any old notions I may formerly have had of governing men by great kindness and delicacy is fast dying away. Let this suffice for the days of my youth, but now that I am older, Christian justice and sobriety are better than mere generosity. Men must be commanded and what element of command is in me has been more developed in this mission to Cal. & Oregon than ever before. . . . When the dragoons leave (to-morrow) I shall be almost a solitary lord of this valley. The physical effect of this pure high air is surprising on me—my hair is blacker, my flesh harder, my legs stronger, and my equanimity a surprise to myself. Such calm quiet strength seems part of another nature than mine. I am not thin but am free from all rotundity of face and body, and almost tremble lest this condition of brain & nerve may not continue. My men require full ten times more watching than officers generally give and I am eternally writing, superintending the gardens, the well, the hospital, the store house, the officers quarters, the shingling parties, the wagon repairs, etc. etc. but never annoying the men, for this I have to avoid, or they would all, every mothers son of them, desert. I never fuss but walk about as dignifiedly as Mr. [undecipherable] ever did, keeping an eye to a thousand things that must be attended to.

Lt. Radford is a sort of Simon Buckner, a narrow, foolish Virginian, with little information but honest.[48] Dr. Crane is intelligent, manly and gentlemanly. Lt. Castor is a second Capt. Swarthout [Henry Swartwout], with something of Dick Smith's laziness, and Ogle is quiet as an Indian.[49] I could not wish to be on better terms with men than I am with them. My orderly sergeant is a young man of 24 and perhaps the best man at the Post. I would not wish a better. . . .

Fort Jones, Cal.
Aug. 1st—1853

My dearest Annie—

I wrote last from Ft. Reading the 24th July, and returned to my Ft. Jones the 27th with Paymaster [Hiram] Leonard. He has been my guest until to-day and altho' he has taken up a good deal of my time he has contributed to make it quite agreeable. . . . Do not suppose that the anxiety you evince touching the important change in our life that I am meditating is misunderstood by me. It would indeed be strange if you were not deeply anxious. . . . Civil life cannot well be worse than our prospects in army life. . . . Are we to hang on the skirts of Genl Scott or when he passes away seek some new patron to protect us or even begin to seek the favor of men in power with a little more delicacy, perhaps, but with the same mere personal ends that control the thoughts and conduct of people whom you and I cannot respect?[50]

Suppose that I had boldly . . . resigned in 1849 and visited San Francisco for a year. Why $5000 then invested would have now been worth $200,000 or even half a million. And three years from to-day, if then living in the army, limping along propped up by the army as a lame man by a crutch, I would doubtless lament that I had not thrown the crutch away and served the time and the hour that Providence seemed distinctly to mark out in this active stirring land. I take distinctly into consideration, my dear Annie, all the difficulties, all my want of familiarity with business, all apprehensions that I may not succeed to my wishes, and view it in a plain, painstaking way. I perceive too very clearly that I cannot expect to succeed without making the undertaking I engage in the paramount interest and instinct of every day. If you could bear it I would enter San Francisco as soon as possible, say in September or October, and with our funds commence operations, proposing to get my initiation there at least. Every body knows here that the possession of $10,000 or $15,000 is every thing to begin with. I might visit Oregon for three weeks and see Gov. Stevens about his coal mine.[51] If I could endure it—and you could—18 months absence would promise much better success, but such an exile I would not endure for any thing short of life and death. The army is worse than you think it and I have a strong desire to leave it. . . .

When shall we sit side by side to study German, Spanish, spiders, grass, botany, bees and all the creatures of God? The command of this post and of my two dragoon companies on the trail is no sinecure. . . . By perseverance at last it is gratifying indeed very gratifying to have succeeded. I hope it will require as much time to succeed in business. . . . Let Genl. Scott know that I am bent on resigning and urge it. . . . I send Percy the little scratch of my mens q[uarte]rs.

Fort Jones
Aug. 2d—1853

My dear Annie—

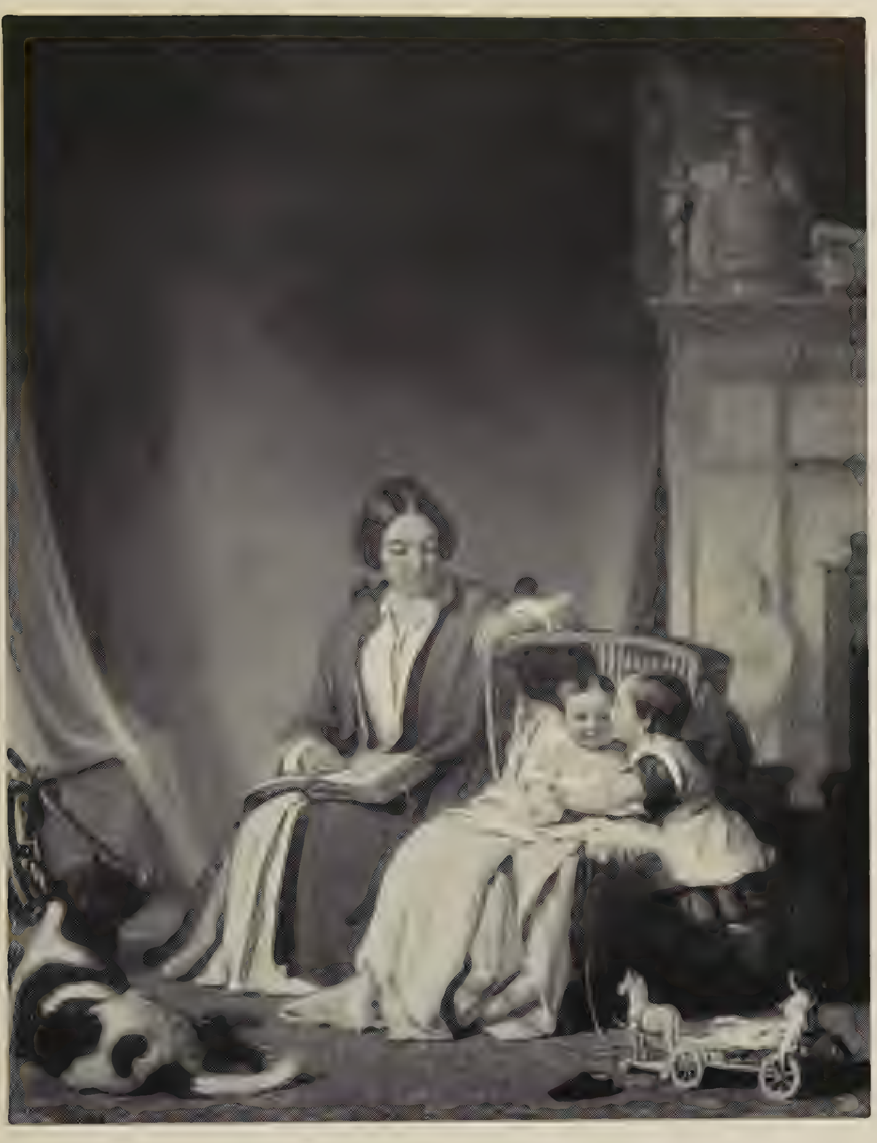
I sent to-day by Maj. Leonard a letter full of the one idea that engrosses our common thoughts. . . . I began to apprehend that you might become too anxious in your apprehensions of civil life. Therefore for a while brush them aside and cultivate a few days of trust in me. I may yet be your sunlight. . . . Expenses are very great here. I am to have a Chinese for servant, cook and washerman at $35 pr. month. I never ate as little in my life tho' I have a good appetite. In truth I must have been eating too much all my life long. Many people in this country live for months on bread & butter, milk, rice and tea and it is not bad fare.

The salmon are past the season tho' the Indians are continually endeavoring to sell them. Yesterday half a dozen new faces came with salmon—and strange faces they were, their chins and cheeks tattoed black [*sic*] as if a handkerchief was wrapped around their cheeks, steeped in blue ink. . . .[52] To-morrow when my papers are off, and copies are labelled and filed away, I must commence my journal again.

Aug. 3d.—The morning has come cool and bracing, so fresh I changed my thin for my thick flannels. . . . I have just sent 16 miles to Yreka for a physician for one of my sick people—the fee to be $30, paid by the govt. I sent also for quinine, iodide of potassium, the Chinese cook, matches, shot, powder, vegetables, letters, tea, etc. etc. . . . The fresh morning air brings fresh, sound thoughts and to-day it seems insane to allow apprehensions of bad success to cast one shadow. With $25000 of *our* money or half of it, with the zest, the impulse and the ambition I feel to make a home for my dear wife and children, I have no unsound fears.

Believe me when I say that never until my service at this post of now two months, have I had so practical a conviction and impression engraved, as it were, of the value of plain, every day business habits. They are manly, honest, & Christian, and any shuffling off of these plain duties is unmanly and, as proof of it (though it is one of my weaknesses and prejudices—and we all have some prejudices—simply to dislike), I confess that his [the business man's] system, precision, and absorbing matter of fact business ways, compel me to yield him a certain degree of respect, as far as these habits of his are efficient and to be valued.

We are here without a surgeon and perhaps to remain without one for six weeks, but thank God, I am well, with every promise of remaining so, and since the well furnishes good pure water, my men are getting over their slight attacks. Never was a land peopled and settled as this country is, with-



MRS. BRADFORD RIPLEY ALDEN
WITH PERCY AND SARAH

Reproduced, through the courtesy of Roger Derby, grandson of Sarah, from the painting by Robert Weir, member of the art department at West Point, 1834-76, and father of John F. and J. Alden Weir. The painting now hangs in Mrs. Derby's living-room in New York.

out any apparent grace of God. Every thing is conducted in a spirit of rapacity and plunder—the very earth is cultivated in a spirit of plunder. No church, no baptism . . . but curses are the idioms of the country. No women, no little children—what blighted fruits are to grow from such planting. God only knows. If our blessed church is to be planted here it must develop what germs it has in new forms. It must come with sisters of charity, hospitals, brotherhood of men, Bishop Potters,[53] new order of deacons and evangelists. . . . It is emergencies like these that, under God, develop the hidden strength of the church, and out of the best parts of the high church movement[54] may be found the very forms to conquer in this region. The express dashes up, and I must end instanter. . . .

Yreka Cal.
Aug. 8—1853

Dear Annie—

I am here to-day on a scout, bound for Jacksonville Oregon with eleven of my men.

The people insist on my coming there to aid in protecting them from the Indians. I shall meet Capt. A. J. Smith's company of dragoons there, from the coast, and with the good citizens of the valley shall doubtless make all safe there.[55]

Let me urge you still as before to push my resignation. Tell the General it is my deliberate desire and intention—admits of no question.

I have to keep my Irishmen straight. The expedition will do them good. My health is wonderfully strong. I did not know I was so strong. All is clear and quiet before me as this bright sky.

I write in the express office and have no more time to say a word of the world of love and affection in my heart. All love to the little children. . . .

Jacksonville, Oregon
Aug. 11th—1853

My dear Annie—

Here I am with hands full. Appointed *Colonel* commanding in this war against the Rogue River Indians with 200 rifle-men under my command and such a stir as you never saw. Have I time to write? Indeed I have not—I am in wonderful health and strength . . . calm and strong as if all were quiet and calm as our household.

Thank God for enabling me to meet this emergency—

Dont believe any rumors that you see in the papers. God strengthen me—and it may all blow over and the Indians I apprehend will run off when we approach them. Trust in the same God who brought me thro' the yellow fever. Write to my mother. . . .

Jacksonville, Oregon
Aug. 20—53

My dear Annie—

No battle yet and no promise of an engagement. The Indians have re-treated to the mountains and may confine their depredations to attacks of trains on the road. There is no telling, however, what the issue will be. As soon as the volunteers take it into their heads to go home, the Indians will come back again.

... I am now getting impatient that I have not been able to get in reach of the *sound* at least of whizzing bullets.

Not a moment to say a word more. ... Please write to my mother.

(Duplicate. Another sent by mail)

Jacksonville, Oregon
29th Auguts 1853

My dear Mrs. A.

I write you but a line to say that the newspaper account that Capt. Alden has been *dangerously* wounded in a battle with the Indians is false.[56] He has received a flesh wound in the shoulder and there is every prospect of his speedy recovery, although it will lay him up for several weeks. His conduct in battle was heroic & brilliant & the theme of general admiration, as are his labors in organizing the war in this vicinity. I am most happy to send you this contradiction of the newspaper accounts. I have given you more particulars in another letter.

This I enclose to Major Townsend at San Francisco requesting him to send it by the very first opportunity of steamer (other than the mail) which may occur. Capt. A. is in good hands & has the kindest attention.

Very truly your friend and obt. servt.
Benj. Alvord

(To be concluded)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Society is greatly indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Roger Alden Derby of New York for the privilege of publishing Captain Alden's letters. Before his death on June first of this year, Mr. Derby undertook the task of making typewritten copies of the letters, without which the editors could not feel the assurance they now have of the accuracy of the present transcription. Mr. Derby's mother was the "Sarah" of the letters.

NOTES

1. Gen. Joseph Lane's report from "Headquarters, Camp Alden, Rogue River, O.T.," to Bvt. Brig. Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock, may be found in 33d Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1 (hereinafter called Ser. No. 691), pp. 37-41. It is followed (pp. 41-43) by Captain B. R. Alden's report from Yreka, California, to the adjutant general of the army. Lane said of Alden: "At the request of Col. Alden and the troops I assumed command of the forces. . . . Too much praise cannot be awarded to Col. Alden; the country is greatly indebted to him for the rapid organization of the forces, when it was entirely without

defense; his gallantry is sufficiently attested by his being dangerously wounded . . . almost at the enemy's lines." Of Lane, Alden said: "The thorough knowledge of the country which he displayed, the gallantry and skill which he exhibited . . . satisfied me perfectly that I had acted for the good of the country in relinguishing the command of the volunteers to him." The Shasta *Courier* of Sept. 17, 1853, quoted the *Mountain Herald* of Sept. 20 as follows: "Gen. Lane expresses a determination to pitch into them [the Indians], if they do not comply with the stipulations of the treaty." For Indian disturbances in the Yreka area, 1854-55, see Alex. J. Rosborough, "A. M. Rosborough, Special Indian Agent," this QUARTERLY, Sept. 1947, pp. 201-207.

2. Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, edited by W. A. Croffut (New York, 1909), pp. 381 ff., wrote in his diary on Dec. 4, 1851: "This looks serious. . . . I have repeatedly asked for more troops." On the preceding May 15, his diary entry was: "Am ready for California. . . ." Hitchcock was in command of the Pacific division (Oregon and California) from July 9, 1851, until May 21, 1854. When the hostilities broke out at Rogue River (where, he notes in his entry for Aug. 25, 1851, "I must establish a post . . . ") in the summer of 1853, he was "immersed in philosophy," according to Croffut (*ibid.*, p. 399). In this connection, George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (Boston & New York, 1891), I, No. 177, pp. 167-79, speaks of Hitchcock as a student of Spinoza and Swedenborg. However, the need for reinforcements in disciplining the Indians at that time was not neglected by the engrossed "student," for the *Daily Alta California* of Aug. 29, 1853, reported that Benicia was to send sixty men to Fort Reading for action in the north.

3. Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 653 (pp. 488-91).

4. Winfield Scott, who was born near Petersburgh, Va., on June 13, 1786, became commander-in-chief of the U. S. army on July 5, 1841, and continued in that office until Nov. 1, 1861. For an outline of his military career, see *List of Officers of the Army of the U. S. from 1779 to 1900*, compiled by Col. William H. Powell (New York, 1900), p. 578. Captain Alden was executor of the general's estate upon the latter's death on May 29, 1866.

5. "Fort Vancouver has every requisite for the principal garrison and depot, and centre of all military concerns of the department for a long time," according to Secretary of War George W. Crawford, in his report dated March 28, 1850. (31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Doc. 47, Ser. No. 558, p. 105.) "There are buildings sufficient for all the stores of the quartermaster's, commissary's, and ordnance departments, for barracks for the men, for hospitals, and, with some additions, for officers' quarters and stables." On pp. 103-105, is a discussion of U. S. rights of possession of the Hudson's Bay property under the treaty of 1846. Fort Vancouver was erected by John McLoughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Co., in 1824-25.

6. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville (b. 1793; d. June 12, 1878) graduated from West Point on Dec. 11, 1815, and some ten years later accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette when he returned to France after his sojourn in America during 1824-25. An account of Bonneville's career may be found in Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 155 (pp. 144-50). This will amplify the reader's probable familiarity with the colonel's journal, as "digested" by Washington Irving in *The Rocky Mountains; or, Scenes, Incidents and Adventures in the Far West* (Philadelphia, 1837). The glacial lake, now extinct, which once covered present-day northwest Utah, was named after him.

7. John Jeffrey (b. Scotland, Nov. 14, 1826; d. Colorado Desert [?], 1854 [?]) was the first to discover *Pinus albicaulis* which he found on Sept. 23, 1851, near Fort Hope in British Columbia. In the fall of 1852, as collector for the Oregon Botanical Assoc. of Edinburgh, he discovered *Pinus Balfouriana* (foxtail pine) in the mountains between Scott's and Shasta valleys; *Pinus ponderosa*, var. Jeffrey Vasey (Jeffrey pine) in Shasta

Valley; also, *Pinus Murrayana* (tamrac pine) in the Siskiyou mountains; and, while in southern Oregon, *Quercus Sadleriana*, or deer oak. (W. L. Jepson, *Silva of California*, Berkeley, 1910, pp. 74, 76, 81, 82, 219-20.) Jeffrey left San Francisco in the spring of 1854 for Fort Yuma. For biographical sketch, see Edinburgh Royal Botanic Garden, *Notes*, XX, No. 96 (July 1939), 1-53. Alden's mention of Jeffrey in the spring of 1853 is of interest.

8. In Quartermaster General Th. S. Jessup's annual report for 1853, occurs a passage which explains why it was that Captain Alden had had to buy his own furniture for Fort Vancouver: "The officers of the army cannot perceive the justice of allowing furniture to navy and marine officers and denying it to them. . . . They do not expect to be sumptuously quartered; but they have a right to expect that comfortable buildings be provided for them and their commands at the posts they are compelled to occupy." (Ser. No. 691 [see note 1 above], p. 132.)

9. The report of the postmaster general dated Dec. 1, 1853, in 33d Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Doc. 1 (Ser. No. 692), p. 705, explains that the high prices prevailing in California affected adversely the mail facilities the government was able to provide in that area. The miner's settlement is "suddenly made and rapidly extended long before the mail contractor and post master can be provided. The expressmen are at hand, and the wants of the miner are immediate." The mails in the west posed an old problem. Three years before, in March 1850, Secretary of War Crawford (*op. cit.*, [note 5 above], p. 107) said that there was no regular mail to Oregon; the company "which contracted to bring it from Panama have never sent a boat beyond San Francisco. . . ." Advertisements of express companies in the Shasta *Courier* of July 9, 1853, include: Cram, Rogers & Co.'s Weaverville Express, connecting at Shasta with Adams & Co.; Rhodes & Lusk's Shasta Express; Hall & Crandall's U. S. Mail Line from Shasta to Marysville and Sacramento City; Edwards, Sanford & Co.'s Great European Express, Agents for Adams & Co.—"Our Atlantic states' express leaves San Francisco Four Times per month by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamers." By 1854, the postmaster general was able to report that contracts had been entered into for transportation of mail between Panama and Oregon. (33d Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Doc. 1, Ser. No. 747, pp. 628-30.) A recent study of one of the best-known express companies is Ruth Teiser's and Catherine Harroun's "Origin of Wells Fargo and Company," in the *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society for June 1948. See also note 61 below.

10. Benjamin Alvord (b. Aug. 18, 1813; d. Oct. 16, 1884), soldier and author, graduated from West Point July 1, 1833. He was stationed at Fort Dalles, Oregon, in 1852-53, and in 1853-54 was engaged in constructing a military road through southern Oregon. Thereafter until July 7, 1862, he was chief paymaster for the department of Oregon. An especially interesting biographical account of Alvord appears in Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 728 (pp. 553-58), with a list of his writings; among them is, "Winter Grazing in the Rocky Mountains."

11. Bloomers reached San Francisco in 1851, according to Julia Cooley Altrocchi, "Paradox Town," this QUARTERLY, XXVIII (March 1949), 40-41.

12. In Dec. 1852, while serving as President Fillmore's secretary of state upon the death of Daniel Webster, Edward Everett wrote a rejection to the proposal of France and England that the U. S. should join with them in a tripartite convention guaranteeing Cuba to Spain. Everett stated that, because of its proximity, the U. S. had a special interest in Cuba. Everett's letter may be found in 32d Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 13 (Ser. No. 660), pp. 15-23.

13. George Simpson in his *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842* (London, 1847), I, 247, spoke of "fifteen hundred sheep, and between four and five hundred head of cattle" at the Fort Vancouver establishment in the fall of 1841;

and Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition . . . 1838 . . . 1842* (Philadelphia, 1850), IV, 334, said that the "large herds of cattle feeding and reposing under the trees, gave an air of civilization to the scene, that is the only thing wanting in the other parts of the territory. . . ." There were about 3000 head of cattle, 2500 sheep, and about 300 brood mares on the premises at that time.

14. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis in his report dated Dec. 1, 1853 (Ser. No. 691, p. 11), commenting on the need for attaining efficiency among the personnel of an army, said that they "should be intelligent and capable; but it is idle to hope that men of this character can be obtained unless their pay bear a fair proportion to that which they would receive in the corresponding employments of civil life. . . ."

15. First Lieut. Edmund Russell was killed on March 24, 1853, in a skirmish with Indians near Red Bluff, California. (Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903,* Washington, 1903, I, 852.)

16. Davis, *loc. cit.,* gave it as his opinion that: "The hope of advancement is the foundation of professional zeal and success, and this incentive should exist in the army as well as in civil life." See also note 37 below.

17. Davis's report (*op. cit.,* p. 17) called attention to the fact that: "The pay of officers of the army was established many years ago, when the value of money was much greater than at this time. What was then only a reasonable and just compensation is now entirely inadequate." With increase in pay would come, presumably, the ability to transport the women of their families. Jessup, the quartermaster general (*op. cit.,* pp. 130-31) suggested compensations in the way of repairs at several posts throughout the territories, improvements that would be indispensable to the health and comfort of the troops. The next year (Dec. 4, 1854) the pay-increase idea had to be re-stated by the secretary of war, Mr. Davis: "I think it but an act of justice to the officers of the army again to call attention to the recommendation made in my last annual report, relative to an increase of their pay." (33d Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, Ser. No. 747, pp. 8-9.) The quartermaster general, reporting on Nov. 14, 1854, said that "extensive repairs" had been made at Benicia and other posts on the Pacific. (*Ibid.,* p. 73.) Captain Alden's refuge in the reading of books was, aside from any personal bent he may have had, part of the plan in educating the cadets at West Point, Davis (Ser. No. 691, p. 15) saying that the interests of the service demanded a "knowledge of international law, of language, and of literature."

18. In 1733, George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, wrote *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher,* in the form of a dialogue, in which he advanced the view that all nature represents the language of God.

19. The piano had many admirers among the husbands of the mid-1850's, as a means of edifying and entertaining their wives. Cf. "William Davis Merry Howard," by his granddaughter, Gertrude Howard Whitwell, in this QUARTERLY, XXVII (Dec. 1948), 325, 326, 328. Eighteen hundred and fifty-three, in fact, marked the death of Jonas Chickering of Boston, and was the year in which Heinrich Engelhard Steinway and his four sons established their firm in New York.

20. J. C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition . . . to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44* (Washington, 1845), pp. 193-94, entry for Nov. 13, 1843, said: ". . . at this time, two of the great snowy cones, Mount Regnier [*sic*] and St. Helens, were in action. On the 23d of the preceding November [1842], St. Helens had scattered its ashes, like a light fall of snow, over the Dalles of the Columbia, 50 miles distant. A specimen of these ashes was given to me by Mr. Brewer, one of the clergymen at the Dalles." For a resumé of such phenomena along the western rim of the continent, see J. F. Diller, "Latest Volcanic Eruptions of the Pacific Coast," *Science,* IX (n.s.), No. 277 (May 5, 1899), pp. 639-40.

21. Wilkes, *op. cit.,* V, p. 224, says that the land party, previous to ascending the Elk

Mountains, "had crossed several small streams over which the Hudson [*sic*] Bay Company had constructed bridges for the passage of their sheep."

22. The same author mentions (*loc. cit.*) the swampy country at this point: ". . . much trouble was caused by the necessity of dragging a number of their [the land party's] pack-horses with lassos from a miry pool into which they had plunged." Mention is also made of the serpentine character of the route and the obstruction caused by fallen timber, "many of whose trunks were four and five feet in diameter." Traveling in the opposite direction a decade earlier, John Work summed up their crossing of the Umpqua Mountains as follows: "This was a hard day both on horses and people particularly the sick. . . ." (Alice B. Maloney, *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura,* this Society, Sp. Publ. 19, 1935, pp. 79-80 ff.)

23. Jesse and Charles Applegate settled on Elk Creek; Lindsay Applegate, on Ashland Creek. (H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* San Francisco, 1886-88, I, 568-69.) The "Messrs. Applegate" appeared to Frémont (*op. cit.*, p. 191) to possess "intelligence and character, moral and intellectual stamina, as well as enterprise. . . ." For a reprinting of Jesse Applegate's report on Oregon, written two years before Alden's march, and showing similar delight in the wild flowers, see *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly,* XXXII (June 1931), pp. 135-44.

24. Since the end of the Mexican War the average loss by desertion was said to be 16% of the actual strength of the U. S. army of 10,417 men (authorized strength at Dec. 1, 1853, was 13,821). A part of the percentage of the desertions was attributed to "the excitement on account of the discovery of gold in California, the excess from that cause, in one year alone, being over 530 over the average of the three succeeding years." (Davis, Ser. No. 691, p. 7.)

25. Fort Jones, originally (1851) Wheelock's trading station, was variously called until 1860 when it adopted the name of the military post established here in 1852. (Bancroft, *History of California,* San Francisco, 1884-90, VI, 495.) Roger Jones, from Virginia, who was made a major general in May 1848 for meritorious conduct during the Mexican War, had died on July 15 of the year the post was established (1852). His military record is given by Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 582. The date, April 23, 1853, on the plaque at Fort Jones, purporting to give the time of the garrisoning of the fort by Company E, should be changed to May 31, as Captain Alden's letters show.

26. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, V, 229, 230, speaks of the grizzly as having been seen by the land party in the fall of 1841: "On the Umpqua, the first grizzly bears were seen. . . ."

27. George Wright was in command of the northern district of California from Sept. 17, 1852, to May 19, 1855, with headquarters at Fort Reading. (Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 309.)

28. The Shasta *Courier,* July 9, 1853, in its column entitled FROM YREKA, said: "We are informed that the two companies of 1st Dragoons, under the command of Lieut. Radford will leave Fort Jones, Scott Valley, for Tula and Goose Lakes, on the emigrant Road between this and Humboldt River, to protect the emigrants on the *wo haw* navigation from the depredations of the Indians, on that part of the route." (See Philip Ashton Rollins, editor, *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail, Robert Stuart's Narrative* . . ., New York and London, 1935, for a first-hand account of the overland journey *eastward* from Astoria in 1812-13.) Present-day Tule Lake appears on the map accompanying Frémont's *Geographical Memoir Upon Upper California* . . . (Washington, 1849) as Rhett Lake, and McCrady River is represented as flowing into it from the north. Both of these names (Rhett and McCrady) are listed without initials in Bancroft's version of the membership of Frémont's company in 1845. (*California, op. cit.*, IV, 583, n. 26.) Paragon Bay is the old name for the bight on which Crescent City stands. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 504-505, says that the vessel *Paragon* met with disaster there in 1850; but Owen C. Coy, *The Hum-*

boldt Bay Region, 1850-1875 (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 44, omits this detail. As to the captain's problem of discovering "a better pack trail" between this bay (Paragon) and Fort Jones, the San Francisco *Herald*, June 16, 1853, was in sympathy with the idea: "Crescent City is, not only by the present trail (which in the opinion of the packers may be considerably shortened) but also geographically, the point on the coast nearest to Yreka, Jacksonville, Althouse. . . ."

29. James Stuart's death occurred on June 18, 1851, from wounds received in action against Indians near Rogue River, Oregon; Edmund Russell's, on March 24, 1853, in a similar encounter near Red Bluff, California. (Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 933; *ibid.*, p. 852.) See also Bancroft's *Oregon*, II, 225 ff., for description of this warfare. Mention of the part played by Maj. Philip Kearny (Bancroft spells it Kearney) in 1851 is made in *ibid.*, pp. 81 and 225 ff. See also *Oregon Spectator Index, 1846-1854* (Portland, 1941), II, 287.

30. The Shasta *Courier*, Sept. 24, 1853, under FROM YREKA, states: "The mining intelligence generally is very encouraging. On the South Fork of Scott river those working the mines are especially successful. The population of this section of the mines has greatly increased." Mining and other experiences, 1851-1855, in this area are told in "Hiram Gano Ferris of Illinois and California," edited by Joel E Ferris, this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1947, pp. 298-307.

31. For the benefit of his later (and unexpected) readers, one wishes that the captain had told his wife the name of the Yreka brewery from which he secured yeast for the Fort Jones baker. In the Yreka *Union* for Oct. 26, 1861, the City Brewery advertises itself as a "Vinegar manufactory"; and on Feb. 15, 1862, "Vinegar, From the Siskiyou Brewery" is exalted.

32. For Lieut. R. S. Williamson's report on his surveys for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific (in which he shows the impracticability of Walker's Pass for such a purpose), see Ser. No. 691, pp. 21 ff. It will be remembered that negotiations with Mexico for the Gadsden Purchase were concluded on Dec. 30 of that year (1853), to facilitate the southern railroad route.

33. The presence of Chinese in numbers in this general area may be judged from the advertisements appearing in the Shasta *Courier*. For example, on Aug. 27, 1853, Church & Mix listed for sale 5,000 lbs. No. 1 China sugar and the same quantity of No. 1 China rice.

34. Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall") Jackson (1824-1863), West Point graduate and, later, Confederate officer, was staunchly religious and had, by instinct, an impressive gravity of manner. He was professor of natural and experimental philosophy as well as instructor of artillery at the Virginia Military Institute from 1851 to 1861. (Cullum, *op. cit.*, II, No. 1288.)

35. Of the seven-point fare here enumerated, Daniel and his three companions would have partaken only of the pulse varieties—peas or beans—and water. (*Book of Daniel*, I, 12.)

36. As will appear shortly in the letters, Henry L. Scott did not become inspector general of the army at this time. Not until May 14, 1861, did that honor come to him. (Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 747.) As a reminder of then-contemporary affairs, the bombardment of Fort Sumter began on April 12, 1861.

37. To counteract this tendency, Jefferson Davis's report recommended that the army's "honors and distinctions should be open to all, that they may incite the ambition and stimulate the zeal of all." (Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 11. See also note 50, below.)

38. Before receiving the appointment as inspector general of the army on May 28, 1853, J. K. F. Mansfield (b. Dec. 22, 1803; d. Sept. 18, 1862) had been serving on the board of engineers for the Atlantic and Pacific coast defenses. The honor was awarded because

Secretary of War Davis "had witnessed his great services in Mexico." (Cullum, *op. cit.*, No. 287, pp. 276-78.)

39. The reference here is to James Murray Mason (1798-1871) who, as U. S. senator from Virginia, 1847-61, was influential in Washington politics. With John Slidell, he figured in the "*Trent* affair," both of them being taken from that British ship in Oct. 1861 by Captain Wilkes of the U. S. navy and thus prevented, for the time, from interceding for the Confederacy in Europe.

40. Nothing beyond this more or less casual remark of the captain's could be found on the subject of a light-house "offer."

41. The *Home Journal*, a weekly, was published between 1846 and 1901, as an outgrowth of the New York *Mirror*, and was made up of society news, gossip, and light essays. N. T. Willis was editor until 1867. In 1901, it became *Town and Country*, and, as such, was bought by W. R. Hearst in 1925.

42. The *Mountain Herald* made its first appearance on June 11, 1853. In the spring of 1855 the name was changed to Yreka *Union*. (Douglas C. McMurtrie, editor, *A History of California Newspapers* . . ., New York, 1927, pp. 224-25.)

43. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 235, says of this stream, "In the afternoon, they [the land party] encamped on Beaver creek, so named by Lieutenant Emmons, from the number of those animals that were seen engaged in building dams."

44. The comment here on the extreme simplicity of Fort Jones's furnishings as being comparable to one of Homer's interiors might be questioned by those who remember the "fair table, polished well . . ." and the "shining chair," mentioned in Book XI, lines 614 ff, in Andrew Lang's translation of Homer's *Iliad*. It is doubtful whether cedar was in use: laurel, myrtle, poplar, cypress, oak, chestnut, but hardly cedar. The reference to Homer would not apply in this case to Winslow Homer, who did not win his reputation for genre painting until much later. In 1853 he was only seventeen years old.

45. The volume in the captain's kit was probably *Napoléon I, Maximes de Guerre*, 2d edition, Bruxelles, 1837 (Bibliothèque portative de l'officier).

46. Nightingale, genus *Daulias;* finch, genus *Fringilla*. But a male bird essaying song at night tempts his ardent hearers to jump the confines of genera. Thus, the "Virginia nightingale" is a cardinal; and the "Persian nightingale" turns out to be a bulbul.

47. The Shasta *Courier* of July 23, 1853, reporting this occasion, commented as follows: "From Yreka.—The Herald says the Fourth was celebrated by the citizens of Yreka, in a style which far surpassed any thing of the kind that ever came off in that part of the country. The Declaration of Independence was read by H. D. Van Wyck, and an eloquent oration delivered by Capt. Alden, U.S.A.; after which the company repaired to the Yreka Hotel and partook of a most sumptuous dinner. . . . The Herald's correspondent from Scott's Bar says: The 4th passed off very quietly, considering the quantity of liquor drank. In fact we had but eighteen fights during the day."

48. Captain Alden, a dozen or so years older than Simon B. Buckner (b. Kentucky, 1823), was commandant of cadets at West Point when Buckner was teaching geography, history, and ethics there in 1845-46; and again in 1848-50 as assistant instructor of infantry tactics, after the close of the Mexican War in which Buckner served under Gen. Winfield Scott. For information about his military life, see Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 259.

49. In Captain Alden's letter of June 1st (where their full names are given), Ogle, Castor, and Radford are spoken of as his "dragoon officers." Captain Swartwout had died the year before (July 1, 1852), at Fort Meade, Fla., from wounds received in hostilities against the Seminole Indians. Dr. Crane was referred to in the letter of June 26.

50. The year after the captain wrote this to his wife, Jefferson Davis, in his report to the second session of the 33d Congress (Ser. No. 747, pp. 9-10, 17), said: ". . . many unseemly controversies have arisen, engendering jealousy, rancor, and insubordination . . .

so numerous and contradictory have been the decisions of the highest authority on questions of rank that no executive regulation or judgment of a court-martial could now establish any certain rule. . . . Congress only can apply the remedy. . . ."

51. Regarding coal discoveries at Coos Bay in 1853, near Empire City and North Bend, see Bancroft, *Oregon, op. cit.*, II, 332 and 743.

52. Capt. (Bvt. Maj.) H. W. Wessells, reporting on Nov. 14, 1851 (as commander of the escort provided for the Indian agent) to Bvt. Lt. Col. J. Hooker, assist.-adj. general, Pacific division, said: "The Klamath and Trinity Indians with few exceptions, came freely into camp, bringing their women and children, and exhibiting an appearance of open, cheerful frankness . . . all are tattoed with three lines of deep blue, from the corners of the mouth and center of the upper lip, reaching below the chin, these lines being narrow in childhood, and widened as they advance in years." (34th Cong., 3d sess., House Ex. Doc. 76, Ser. No. 906, pp. 64 and 65.)

53. There were three Episcopal bishops Potter: Alonzo (1800-65), bishop of Pennsylvania; his brother, Horatio (1802-87), bishop of New York; and Alonzo's son, Henry Codman Potter, who succeeded his uncle upon the latter's death, and in whose administration the corner-stone of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine was laid (1892). All three were active in social betterment—Negro aid, city mission work, working-men's clubs, day nurseries, kindergartens, and were not bound by denominational lines.

54. The Right Rev. William Ingraham Kip wrote in his book, *The Early Days of My Episcopate* (New York), p. 3, that when his candidacy to serve as missionary bishop of California was being discussed in 1853, some of the bishops were "afraid my churchmanship was rather too elevated in its character. . . ." However, he was selected for that office, and four years later he became bishop.

55. Joseph Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 40, mentions Capt. Andrew Jackson Smith, first dragoons, as having arrived at camp with his troops from Port Orford, and, while peace was being made, he and his troops "served to over-awe the Indians."

56. Newspaper items, appearing in the Shasta *Courier*, ran as follows: Aug. 20, 1853— "A correspondent of the *Herald*, writing from Jacksonville on the 13th says:—There is now over 300 men mustered into the service under the command of Capt. Alden, of the U.S.A., who is appointed Colonel commanding, assisted by Col. John Ross."

The *Courier* of Aug. 27 quoting the *Mountain Herald* of Aug. 20: "The whole force of our army is now on the Indian trail, and it is supposed they will have a severe battle in a few days."

From the *Courier* of Sept. 3: "We are indebted to the *Mountain Herald* [of Aug. 27] for the particular of another battle fought between the whites and Indians of Rogue River Valley. The account is furnished that paper by Mr. Dugan [see note 60 below] through Cram, Rogers & Co.'s Express:— . . . Col. B. R. Alden is said to be mortally wounded; the ball entered his neck and came out under his arm. General Lane was also wounded in the shoulder, slightly—The battle lasted four hours, at the end of which time Chief Sam proposed an armistice, which was granted; and both armies agreed to meet at Table Rock to-morrow, to have a *wa-wa.* . . . General Lane and Colonel Alden were wounded while making a charge. . . . Still Later— . . . intelligence that Col. Alden was yet alive, although in an extremely critical condition. He was shot with a half ounce ball while stooping behind a log just in the act of firing at an Indian. The ball entered his neck near the jugular vein and came out just below the arm on the opposite side of his body, inflicting a ghastly wound of sufficient size to enable a man to thrust two fingers into it. . . . Some of Sam's Indians packed Col. Alden some sixty miles from the battle ground, and within twelve miles of Jacksonville, where he now lies."

Shasta *Courier* of Sept. 10, quoting the correspondent of the *Herald* of Sept. 3, who was "writing from Jacksonville on the 29th." The correspondent related that ". . . Col.

B. R. Alden and some of the other men wounded in the last battle, reached town yesterday. The Colonel is doing well and in fine spirits, and I am happy to learn that his wound is not considered dangerous. . . . We understand that the company of Clicatat Indians, expected for some days, had arrived at Jacksonville, and announced themselves ready to fight the Rogues." The terms of the treaty were then given.

Commenting on the battle in his report for Dec. 1, 1853, Secretary Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 4) said: ". . . These operations appear to have been conducted with great energy and judgment, and, in the final conflict, General Lane and Captain Alden (the latter in command of the regular troops) were both severely wounded, while gallantly leading a charge against the Indians."

The 1883 Flood on the Middle Yuba River

By Doris Foley and S. Griswold Morley

IN this article we purpose to give an account, based on printed and oral testimony, of the "English Dam flood" on the Middle Yuba. In Part I we shall describe its cause and its general destructive effects, and in Part II, more specifically, what happened to the bridges that lay in its path.[1]

I. THE FLOOD

On June 18, 1883, English Dam on the Middle Fork of the Yuba River gave way. This dam was located some six miles above the present Milton Dam of the Nevada Irrigation District; that is to say, it was on the line of Sierra and Nevada counties, two miles above Jackson Forks on the Henness Pass road, and in the shadow of English Mountain. In his statement made at the time, Henry Perchoir, acting president of the Milton Mining & Water Co., said:

> The dam was originally what is called a "crib dam," built of logs 25 years ago. About eight years ago the company, at great expense, strengthened and raised the dam, thus increasing the capacity of the reservoir. This was done by putting a very deep facing of rock on the outside, and also a stone lining inside, carrying the comb a considerable distance above the top of the old dam. . . . The dam itself was about 400 feet long, and the reservoir it formed back of it was about two and a half miles long, and a half-mile wide.[2]

June 18 was a Monday; the time was said to have been 5:00 A.M. George Davis, the watchman, reached the spot a few moments after it began breaking. He said that "it started by carrying off the wooden upper portion, and then gradually crumbled down the rest, stones and all, till nothing was left but the site. The water was an hour and a half running out, and the mammoth sink was left dry."[3]

Superintendent H. C. Perkins of the Bloomfield and Milton Companies declared that the dam "was subjected to a critical inspection on Friday last and pronounced perfectly sound in all its parts . . . the indications point strongly to the fact that the break was not accidental, but that the dam was blown up by powder."[4] In accordance with his recommendation, the following notice appeared in the local papers:

> The Milton Mining and Water Company offer a reward of five thousand dollars for information that will lead to the apprehension and conviction of the party or parties who caused the destruction of the dam of the Milton Mining and Water Company, on the 18th instant, situated on the headwaters of the Middle Yuba river.[5]

In short, the company assumed that this was one more lawless act in the long series that dotted the conflict between hydraulic miners and valley farmers. The latter, however, did not admit such complicity. William T. Ellis, in his elaborate description of the flood (cf. note 2), does not even mention the theory of dynamiting. More will be said below concerning the controversy. Whatever or whoever broke the dam, no criminals were ever convicted, or even, so far as we know, brought to trial. The cause of this flood in a rainless month remains a mystery.

The immediate results were quickly felt. The released water caused a first-class flood all the way down the Middle Yuba. The celebrated Ridge Telephone Line, said to be the oldest long-distance line in the country,[6] proved its usefulness in an emergency. N. C. Miller, ditch superintendent, sent the call to stations along the line, giving the approximate time the high water should reach designated points.[7] Damage to property and lives was not small:

> The house and barn at Jackson Ranch, in the valley three miles below the dam, took passage for the Sacramento lowlands on the first wall of water that came along. The Black brothers, who were ranching there, had crawled out of bed earlier than usual that morning, and saw the flood approaching just in time to climb above its reach. Some sheep herders from a lower county had two or three days before pitched their camp near the ranch. [They escaped, but lost all their paraphernalia and probably a number of sheep.] Tom Fairweather, a ditch tender working for the company, lived in the valley six miles below the dam, with his new-found wife. He saw the water approaching in time to save his bride and most of his household furniture.[8]

Twelve miles downstream, opposite Graniteville perched on its ridge two miles above, the river flows between exceedingly precipitous banks. Chinese miners in the vicinity escaped by climbing the north bank. Of the two Reese brothers, mining in the same locality, the elder was drowned. "He was quite aged and decrepit, and although his more active brother made a brave effort to rescue him it was no use." In this area the water was reported to have risen a hundred feet above its normal level. Four miles farther down, according to a news item,

> at McKillicon's mine opposite Snow Point the tunnel starts in from the northern bank of the river. When the water got to here the drift was rapidly filled up and the men working inside would have drowned like rats in a hole had it not been that they had just completed an air shaft that came to the surface above the highest point the water reached, and they were enabled to escape through it.[9]

The Eureka Lake Company Dam, a mile above the present Foote's Crossing, was carried away. It was 24 to 30 feet high, and had been built to raise water into the head of the San Juan ditch in order to supply the American Mine at Sweetland. Thence the water was "conveyed along the cliff in a flume, room for which was cut out of the solid rock for one-half to two-thirds of a mile. The dam and flume for one-half mile is completely gone. . . . A short distance further down the flume crosses Bloody Run canyon on a trestle 80 feet high. The water rushed up the canyon, tearing down the trestle, destroying 200 feet of flume." At Horseshoe Bend, where the Poorman Claims are now located, four Chinese and an Italian were drowned.[10] At Emory's Crossing, three miles above Freeman's, twelve Chinese cabins were carried away.[11] The destruction at Freeman's will be described in the second section of this article. The next place below, where damage was done, was "at the dump of the American mine just below Sweetland where some of their flume was carried away, taking some of the gold amalgam to enrich the grain fields above Marysville." The loss was estimated at $5000.[12]

At Smartsville (i.e., opposite Smartsville, which is on a hill), the *Transcript* said that:

> the water came down the river in a solid wave or wall, bearing on its crest a compact mass of logs and other driftwood, forming a floating bridge which seemed solid enough to enable a man to cross on it. Forty head of cattle were caught by the flood and were swept away.[13]

The flood had reached Smartsville at 11 A.M., and word was sent from there to Marysville to expect it by 2 o'clock. At the county seat of Yuba County many citizens assembled on the Yuba bridge to witness the coming of the spate. Bets were made as to its probable height, and "the whole matter was regarded rather as a thing for jesting than for alarm."[14] At about three o'clock the waters began rising gradually, till they reached a peak above normal of two feet eight inches. They were turbulent and muddy: "I remember that at the D street bridge the water was almost as thick as syrup, carrying a mass of mining debris; brush, trees, logs and other debris came down in great quantities and the bridge itself was jammed with citizens 'watching the show,' " wrote W. T. Ellis.[15] Alarm turned to disappointment, and the crowd, not seeing the seething roaring wave it had expected, went home. It did not know that the breaking of the levee in the Linda district had relieved the pressure of the flood and possibly saved Marysville.

The Linda Township break is thus related:

> B. P. Hugg, Deputy Assessor, happened to be in a field beside the levee and was the first person to notice the break. He found the water coming through a gap in the top of the levee. The gap was about a foot deep and a yard or so wide. The break was rapidly growing larger. . . . He was on horseback and at once galloped to a field in which Beeney and his men were at work harvesting and gave the alarm. Mr. Hugg says, in fifteen minutes after he first saw the gap it had become 40 feet wide, and a flood of water was pouring in over the land. Nothing could be done to repair the break and there was nothing for Beeney to do but to wait till the water should subside. Damage to the crops was considerable.[16]

The Beeney Ranch was located about seven miles east of Marysville on the south side of the river.

As to the material transported, a news release expressed it thus:

> The flood from the broken English Dam carried an enormous quantity of debris from the Yuba river into the Feather, the greater portion of which is deposited in the channel of the Feather for several miles below the confluence of the two streams.[17]

This flood brought to a focus the long-standing controversy between valley farmers and hydraulic miners. We do not need even to recapitulate the facts of that vital conflict, but we can contribute a few items closely related to the English Dam flood. As was to be expected, newspapers on both sides began lashing at each other, spurred by this new disaster. The Nevada *Daily Transcript* was, of course, a miners' organ, and when it reported evidence on the other side it was for the purpose of derision. On June 26 it copied a paragraph from the *Dutch Flat Times:*

> The Sacramento Bee, Marysville Appeal and all the other anti-mining papers have struck it big by the breaking up of the English Dam. They had about exhausted their supply of subject matter to misrepresent the miners. They now all make a big blow about debris dams breaking and drowning out the valley people below, taking the broken English Dam as a sample of what debris dams will certainly do if allowed to be built in the mountain rivers.

And on July 25 the *Daily Transcript* sneered: "A 'Wheatland Engineer' says that the English Dam was destroyed 'by the blasting of the miners in the vicinity, causing the earth and rocks to loosen, and the front of the reservoir to give way.' The fool killer has a mission to perform at Wheatland." It maintained that the damage was greater to the mining towns than to the valley:

> The breaking of the English Dam is more disastrous to the towns of French Corral, Sweetland, Birchville, Cherokee and other places whose mines depend upon that reservoir for water, than if all their private dwellings, schoolhouses, churches and business had been wiped out by fire. If the latter had occurred, the towns would have been rebuilt at once by the enterprising residents, but to be deprived of their supply of water for mining is a loss that cannot be repaired for this season at least. The happy homes, neat schools and churches, and the heretofore good business stands must be abandoned, and the people cast about for other scenes where they can begin life anew. . . . Must millions of dollars worth of property in the mountains be destroyed and hundreds of families be made homeless and houseless, to save a few sections of bug-eaten soil in the lower country?[18]

Commenting editorially on June 28, the *Transcript* said:

> The question now agitating the mining community of our state is not, "Who were the mound builders of the Mississippi Valley?" but "Who are the dam destroyers of California?" . . . Since the litigation against the mining interest was commenced in 1876, the anti-miners have shown they were as much in earnest as the most rabid Nihilists, in the indiscriminate destruction of property. As an instance we cite four dams injured or destroyed, viz: 1st, The Brush Dam on the Yuba was burned. 2nd, The Birdsall Dam on Bear River was blown up. 3rd, The Alta Dam on Cedar Creek was blown up. 4th, And now the great dam of the Milton Co., situated high in the mountains, has been utterly destroyed, presumably by dynamite.
>
> How many more dams are under the ban of the anti-mining fanatics we know not.

On January 7, 1884, Judge Lorenzo Sawyer of the United States Circuit Court handed down a decision by which the miners were enjoined from dumping debris into rivers. The injunction was upheld, and changed the whole character of the mining communities.[19] The English Dam was never rebuilt, and remnants of it stand today. The Milton Mining and Water Company estimated its losses at $150,000 in value of the dam, $75,000 in loss of water revenue while rebuilding, and an indeterminate but large amount in damage suits. It is said that the company paid all damage suits, but that statement we are unable to document.[20]

II. THE BRIDGES

We turn now to the effects of the flood upon the bridges spanning the Middle Yuba.

Only two miles below the dam the Henness Pass road crosses the Yuba twice within less than a mile. Today there are two bridges, but in 1883 the crossings were by ford. The next important crossing was that of the Emory Road, some 25 miles farther down. This also was then a ford, lined with Chinese shacks.[21]

Three miles farther down was and is Freeman's Crossing, on the most important of all highways spanning the Middle Yuba. It was and is the main road connecting Nevada City and Downieville, the county seats of Nevada and Sierra counties. Just north of the crossing the Alleghany road branches to the east, and this too bore heavy traffic then, in the heyday of the mines. Two covered bridges stood less than half a mile apart, one over the Middle Yuba, the other over Oregon Creek, which flows into it a short distance above Freeman's. The fate of these two bridges will be the chief theme of the remainder of this paper.

Thomas Freeman was an early pioneer of notable energy and initiative. At the crossing which took his name, he had developed a little industrial center. His two-story hotel with its large verandas stood at the left of the bridge after one crossed it toward Camptonville and Downieville. To the right was a two-story broom factory known as the "Broom House," and its excellent products ranged in price from two bits to fifty cents a broom. The blacksmith shop and barn were farther to the right, and teams taking the Alleghany and Henness Pass route went under its shed. South of the river, on the Nevada County side, were the garden and orchard, surrounded by a rock fence. Teamsters between North San Juan and Downieville told of the delicious watermelons that grew there, and how Tom Freeman good-naturedly turned his back when they climbed the wall to purloin a melon.[22]

For thirty-one years Freeman had lived at the crossing. In 1850, Matthew Sparks had established a ferry there, and on February 17, 1851, he was granted a license to build a bridge and collect tolls.[23] The spot was then known as Nye's Crossing. Thomas Hess built the first bridge in 1851, but it was carried away by a flood the same winter. He built another in 1852 and sold it to Thomas Freeman in 1854. Thereafter it was called Freeman's Crossing. In 1855 he replaced Hess's bridge with a more substantial structure, which stood till it was swept away in December 1861, the famous flood winter. Freeman commenced the construction of another at once, but the uncompleted frame was carried out by a freshet in January 1862. He then moved a little farther down stream and built a four-span covered bridge, 240 feet long, resting on piers fifteen feet above the water. He took much pride in this, his finest bridge.[24] The center pier of this bridge can still be seen, supporting nothing, below the present bridge.

On the morning of June 18, 1883, the watchman at the broken dam telephoned N. C. Miller at his home in French Corral. He in turn undertook to notify the stations of the telephone line, beginning with North San Juan. The warning reached this town at about 7:30 A.M., and a messenger was at once despatched on horseback to Freeman's, two miles away.[25] The bridge-owner's first care was to guide his blind wife from their comfortable home to higher ground, where the family and servants were gathering. An hour later a wave of trees, timbers, brush and boulders came around the bend. A short distance above the bridge the debris chanced to form a temporary dam. Freeman thought that perhaps this barrier might save his buildings. The Downieville stage to Nevada City crossed the bridge, and had moved a hundred yards beyond it when the obstruction gave way, and in a minute the great quadruple covered span was swept away. Judge O. P. Stidger, editor of the San Juan *Times,* a newspaper of the northern mines, was among the passengers on the stage. In the words of the *Transcript:*

> Of the fine bridge . . . there is no vestige left to tell where it once was. . . . The water ran through the hotel three feet deep. A log crashing through the office door lodged in the dining-rooms, the sand and debris left on the floors broke them down, and the house is otherwise badly damaged. Of the blacksmith and carpenter shop . . . not a trace is left. Even the 200-pound anvil is nowhere to be found. One side of the large broom-factory was torn out, fortunately not carrying off the large quantity of brooms stored in the upper story. The store-house, in which was stored 140 sacks of barley and other goods, was moved from its foundation and badly damaged.[26]

One of the Chinamen, ignoring a warning, returned to his cabin for his clothes and was drowned.

Freeman estimated his loss at $12,000, but he would not have been a pioneer if he had been daunted by the disaster. At once he initiated repairs and replacements. By June 29 fifty men were already working on the bridges and roads. On July 17 the *Daily Transcript* reported: "Thomas Freeman has from 60 to 80 men employed in reconstructing the Forest City road [i.e. the Alleghany road] between his place and the Oregon Creek Crossing at the Oregon Creek Bridge. The entire work will be completed Saturday." And on August 1: "Work will be begun shortly on the new bridge, which a San Francisco company has taken the contract to build." This bridge was of iron and steel. Meanwhile the teamsters were fording the Yuba at Freeman's, and driving up the tailings in the stream till they passed Oregon Creek.[27]

Thomas Freeman continued living at the crossing till his death in 1892.[28] The property was then handed down to Ben Derickson, a nephew, who in turn sold it to Theodore Wayman. Later all the buildings except the barn burned down, and Wayman rebuilt the crossing as it looks today. In 1919 a new highway bridge was constructed near the location of Freeman's 1855 bridge, the 1883 bridge was removed and the barn torn down. The present owner of the property is Lloyd Harris of Oakland, California.

We have left to the last an account of what the English Dam flood did to the Oregon Creek bridge, because that is a whole story in itself. Oregon Creek has its source in the hills of Sierra County near Forest City, and empties into the Middle Yuba from the north, less than half a mile above Freeman's. The main road from the Downieville highway to Alleghany and Forest City crosses Oregon Creek some 200 yards from its mouth, in Yuba County. Thomas Freeman bought the Emory Road, three miles above, from its owner in order to suppress it in favor of his own toll system.[29] As recalled by a contemporary: "Freeman also built a bridge across Oregon Creek in 1858, and in 1871 another, a little above the first, at a cost of twenty-five hundred dollars. The original bridge was washed away subsequent to the construction of the new one."[30]

The second bridge, which still stands, was made of Douglas fir cut half a mile up from Anderson's Ranch. The frame was designed and cut by Hugh Thomas, and the marks of his adze are yet visible on its stout timbers. The bridge is about 100 feet long, with a slight curve at each end. There was every reason to suppose that the English Dam flood would not affect it, since the water released on the Middle Yuba did not flow down Oregon Creek. But a curious thing happened. The same natural dam of logs and brush, which interrupted the flood's progress and caused Freeman to hope that his bridge would be spared, lay just below the mouth of Oregon Creek. Behind it the water backed up not only in the Middle Yuba but also in the creek. This was, surely, the least likely emergency or danger that the builders of the bridge could have conceived. To quote the *Transcript:*

> A freight teamster came down from Forest City and was about to drive on the bridge when the wave came. He describes it as taking the bridge up like a feather and carrying it up the creek eight or ten rods, where it was tossed from side to side, and as the flood dropped back was lodged 150 feet below its original place on the bank.[31]

Like an enormous log it stuck endwise into the bar at the mouth of the creek.

We have already told how the wagons managed to drive past the creek on their way to Alleghany. But that was a makeshift that would not serve for long. Freeman needed the tolls as much as the miners needed the road. He had to decide whether he would abandon the old bridge and build a new one, or try to haul the old one back to its former place on the stone abutments, eighteen feet above the creek bed. The latter alternative seemed all but impractical, but he asked Solon Chatfield, a logging contractor who owned his own oxen, if it could be done. Chatfield replied that he could do it, if he were given four more men and plenty of time.

It was late July 1883 when the work began. The men, besides Solon Chatfield, were Andrew Jackson "Jack" Grimes (Freeman's engineer), William Sponknabel (pronounced Spónnable), Ed Lydik, and Nels Chatfield (Solon's son), then a youth of seventeen and the chief authority for these details. Planks, 3 in. x 12 in. x 18 ft., were laid on the roadway to make it solid. Huge rollers, such as are used in housemoving, were prepared. At first, four yoke of oxen were hitched on, but, in the end, six yoke were necessary. Three sets of block and tackle were used to increase power; the one next the oxen was a "single fall," the second a "double fall," and the third a "triple fall." Nels Chatfield took care of the block and tackles, changing them every twelve feet. Lydik's task was to move the planks from rear to front, and he used a team of oxen to do it. A false bridge was thrown across the creek, and the bridge hauled over it; when it was in place the falsework was removed. The entire job took three weeks. *The Daily Transcript* of August 11, 1883, reported that "Freeman's road and bridge to Forest City across Oregon Creek are now in first rate order." A queer result of the flood had been that in the process the bridge was turned end for end. It had landed with its west end downstream; and since, manifestly, it could not be turned and the hauling was done on the east side, it came up the road east end first and so landed on the abutments wrong end to.

The old bridge stands thus today, a monument to the sturdy construction of the pioneers and to their engineering ingenuity. The original shake roof was replaced some years ago by galvanized iron which, by reason of its permanence and its smoothness in shedding snow, is coming to be the favorite roofing material in the mountains. In the spring of 1947, Yuba County found it necessary to repair the bridge. The bottom chords had rotted and were replaced by steel girders; some decayed wood in the upper structure was renewed, but the framework was not much disturbed. C. C. Gildersleeve was the contractor for most of the work, and the total cost was close to $10,000.[32] Mr. Morley had the pleasure of driving across the bridge on April 2, 1947. The floor planking had been removed, and the automobile wheels had only the girders to follow. To be sure, there were heavy "wheel guards," but, even so, the rushing waters of Oregon Creek, seen directly below the car during a hard rainstorm, looked ominously close.

NOTES

1. This account is taken mainly from newspapers of the day and from eye-witnesses, as cited below. To the latter go our thanks. There is an almost complete file of the Nevada City *Daily Transcript* in the Nevada City public library.

2. San Francisco *Morning Call*, June 20, 1883. Perchoir (sometimes spelled Pichoir) gives other details of the construction in his statement. The Nevada City *Daily Transcript*, June 19, 1883, stated that the dam was in three vertical sections of stone and wood, "and had a height at the center section of 125 feet. Its capacity was 650,000,000 cu. ft., connected with it are eighty miles of ditches, having a carrying capacity of 2,800 inches and leading to the Milton Company's hydraulic mines at Badger Hill, Manzanita Hill, Birchville and French Corral." Similar but slightly varying figures on the dam and reservoir are given by W. T. Ellis, *Memories* (Eugene, Ore., 1939), p. 80. On June 20, the *Transcript* added, on the strength of an interview with H. C. Perkins, superintendent of the Bloomfield and also of the Milton Co., that at the time of the accident the stone facing had been completed to within six feet of the water's surface, where a wooden superstructure had been made to do duty till the stonework could be raised.

3. *Daily Transcript*, June 19, 1883. All the contemporary testimony corroborates June 18 as the date of the break. Ellis's memory played him false when he wrote (*loc. cit.*): "The dam failed by being overtopped at 5 P.M., June 19, 1883."

4. *Daily Transcript*, June 20, 1883, interview with Superintendent Perkins. "The North

Bloomfield mining corporation holds one-half the stock of the Milton company" (*ibid.*, June 19). According to Miss Miller (note 7 below), Davis, the sole witness of the break, fell soon after from a flume to his death. The miners suspected foul play.

5. This is taken from the Truckee *Republican*, June 27, 1883, under "Local Lines," but it was widely published. A lengthy editorial on the offer, from the miners' point of view, in the San Francisco *Post*, is quoted in the *Daily Transcript* of June 29.

6. State highway markers, indicating the stations of this telephone, read: "FIRST LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE." There are such markers on the telephone building at French Corral and at various highway points.

7. This statement comes from Miss Lois Miller, daughter of N. C. Miller. The family then lived in French Corral, and she often accompanied her father and older sister on tours of ditch inspection. Now, at the age of eighty, Miss Miller lives in the Freeman Hotel, Auburn, Calif.

8. The several statements collected in this paragraph are from the *Daily Transcript* of June 20.

9. Quotations from same issue of the *Transcript*, and other statements are based either on that issue or the one of June 19.

10. *Daily Transcript*, June 29, quoting a correspondent of the Sacramento *Bee*. The identification of Horseshoe Bend with the Poorman Claims is by W. H. Wayman (see note 22 below).

11. *Daily Transcript*, June 20.

12. *Ibid.*, June 29, quoting the *Bee*. The last statement is based on the *Transcript* of June 20.

13. *Daily Transcript*, June 21; in the issue of June 26 details are added: owing to a sudden widening of the river canyon at this point, the waters spread out and the raft of logs broke up and scattered. "Had it not dispersed, the cattle would probably all have been killed. Many were carried away by the flood, but all finally succeeded in reaching the shore."

14. *Daily Transcript*, June 21.

15. Ellis, *loc. cit.*

16. *Daily Transcript*, June 21. Ellis (*loc. cit.*) gives a variant of the story.

17. *Daily Transcript*, June 23. The amount of sediment carried on the flood was carefully measured. The *Daily Transcript* of June 21 said: "Sample bottles were filled at the surface, and after standing a few minutes they would show a deposit of sand equal to one-sixth of the volume of the water, while much light matter would still be floating in suspension." Ellis (*op. cit.*, p. 81) declared: "Samples were taken of the water four feet under the river surface and showed 3.3 per cent of 'slickens'; all previous tests had never shown over 1.125 per cent of material."

18. *Daily Transcript*, June 20.

19. His decision in "The Mining Debris Case," as printed in *Reports of Cases, Circuit and District Courts of the United States Ninth Circuit*, reported by L. S. B. Sawyer (San Francisco, 1885), reviews the entire situation authoritatively. The English Dam flood is described briefly on p. 484. Strangely, no adequate monograph on the historic controversy seems to exist.

20. Lois Miller (cf. note 7 above) states that the Milton Co. settled all damage suits. The estimate of loss is taken from the interview with Henry Perchoir referred to in note 2. The San Francisco *Morning Call* of June 22 estimated the damage to farmers in Linda Township alone as follows: 2,200 acres under water, of which 1,300 in standing grain; the loss was said to come to $34,500, not including minor damage to roads, bridges, gardens, levee and live stock; the total loss might reach forty to fifty thousand dollars.

21. Nels Chatfield (cf. note 30 below) recalls it as a ford, and the Smartsville sheet of the U. S. Geological Survey, surveyed in 1885 and 1886, marks it as Emory Ford. How-

ever, we must note that W. H. Chamberlain's *History of Yuba County* (Oakland, 1879), p. 113b, in a list of bridges of the county, includes "Emory's bridge across the Middle Yuba, four miles above Freeman's"; and the *History of Placer and Nevada Counties* by W. B. Lardner and M. J. Brock (Los Angeles, 1924), p. 573, in a biography of David I. Wood, states that in addition to his well-known bridge across the South Yuba at Bridgeport, he "also owned . . . the bridge at Emory's crossing on the Middle Yuba." David Wood died in 1875. We do not know at what time this bridge disappeared. Nels Chatfield thinks it was torn down by Freeman to divert travel to his own toll roads.

22. A large-scale lithograph of the buildings at Freeman's may be seen in Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, between pp. 140 and 141. The statements identifying the buildings and describing the garden were oral, from W. H. Wayman, before his death in June 1949, aged 76. He was the brother of Theodore Wayman, who purchased the Freeman holdings from Ben Derickson. Theodore was killed in 1911 in a wagon accident, and W. H. Wayman managed the crossing till 1913, when the property was sold.

23. A list of the tolls charged by Sparks is given in Harry L. Wells, *History of Nevada County* (Oakland, 1880), p. 132: "Wagon, loaded, $3. Wagon, empty, $2. Horse or mule with rider or pack, .50. Cattle per head, .25. Footman, .20."

24. The history of the various bridges is derived from the histories of Yuba and Nevada counties, already cited, with some details from the *Daily Transcript*, June 29, 1883. The lithograph already mentioned shows the four-span bridge.

25. Miss Lois Miller is authority for the statement about the telephoned warning. Other personal details in this paragraph are from W. H. Wayman.

26. The *Daily Transcript*, June 29, 1883.

27. The estimate of damage is from the *Daily Transcript* of June 20; the statement about driving up the tailings, from W. H. Wayman.

The following item ought to be retrieved from oblivion: "The teamsters who haul freight from this city to Sierra County say that the party libelled them who told the *Transcript* that they did some tall swearing when they were fording the Middle Yuba at Freeman's last week. They say teamsters never swear under any circumstances." (*Daily Transcript*, June 28, 1883.)

28. "Thomas Freeman, the well known owner of the Middle Yuba Bridge, died suddenly at his residence near the crossing on Sunday morning. He caught cold about six weeks ago. . . . On Sunday morning he ate a hearty breakfast and then went into an adjoining room, sat down in a chair and immediately expired. Mr. Freeman was a man universally respected, being always square in his dealings with his fellowmen. His age was 70 years." (*Daily Transcript*, Dec. 27, 1892.)

29. Statement of Nels Chatfield and W. H. Wayman.

30. Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 100a. The date 1871 is corroborated by an item kindly furnished to us by Brisbane Henderson, road commissioner of Yuba County: On Friday, Nov. 17, 1871, the board of supervisors of Yuba County rejected Thomas Freeman's petition for county aid in having constructed a bridge above Freeman's Crossing on Oregon Creek. (Ref. Min. Book #4, Board of Supervisors of Yuba County.)

The details concerning its construction and the account of the hauling of the bridge were obtained from Charles Nelson ("Nels") Chatfield, aged 83, who spends his summers in Pike and winters in Nevada City. He was seventeen when he took part in the hauling job. Mr. Chatfield speaks with difficulty, a consequence of having inhaled flames in attempting to extinguish a fire in a mine of which he was manager, but his mind is clear and he recalls details easily and with pleasure.

31. *Daily Transcript*, June 29, 1883.

32. These facts and figures were furnished to Mr. Morley in Marysville on Nov. 23, 1948, through the courtesy of Brisbane Henderson (see note 30 above).

The Hudson's Bay Company in San Francisco

By Anson S. Blake

(Concluded)

Arriving in San Francisco the 30th December 1841, Simpson was greeted by Rae. On the third of January 1842, accompanied by Rae and James Alexander Forbes, British vice-consul, he started out to visit General Vallejo.[43] On his return he called on Alcalde Francisco Guerrero.[44] Meantime a messenger returned from Monterey with a reply to a request for permission to land certain goods without first entering them at the custom house in Monterey. (*Cf.* par. 2 and 16, Rae's letter of Oct. 14, 1841, transcribed above.) The request was denied; accordingly the *Cowlitz* sailed for Monterey, where she was promptly boarded by six officers of the customs "who flocked down to our vessel like vultures to their prey," to quote Simpson's words.[45] After much discussion, duties were paid on the goods for the San Francisco establishment and they were trans-shipped on an American vessel at a cost of $200 for transportation back to San Francisco.[46] Visits were made on the governor and all of the principal inhabitants. With all of these people Simpson probed into the condition of the country, its people and its government.[47] Simpson not only made calls; he received one from Francis Ermatinger, head of the company's trapping party of the year on the Sacramento, or, as it was called by Hudson's Bay men, the Bonaventura River. Ermatinger gave a discouraging report of the region as a future trapping area.[48] After a brief stay, the *Cowlitz* headed for Santa Barbara. Here again Simpson visited and talked with all the principal inhabitants and with the clergy, getting the views of the various factions and of the neutrals. He found little to praise and much to criticize in the government. He had this to say of purely personal contacts: "Among the light-hearted and easy tempered Californians, the virtue of hospitality knows no bounds; they literally vie with each other in devoting their time, their homes, and their means, to the entertainment of a stranger."[49] However, he evidently came to the conclusion that it was a better country to visit than to do business in.

He sailed from Santa Barbara for Honolulu. At Honolulu he and McLoughlin were to part company after their joint inspection of California. It would seem that Simpson had been expecting that McLoughlin might accept the changed policy of abandoning the trading posts on the coast, for he had written in a private letter, dated November 15, 1841, to Andrew Colville (deputy-governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in London), before starting on the trip, as follows:

> The Doctor is as much opposed to the abandonment of the posts on the N.W. Coast noticed in the General dispatch, as he has all along been to the Steamer, & for no other

reason that I can discover, than that the measure did not originate with himself. To do him justice, however, although he never ceases talking about any measures that are forced upon him, he nevertheless pushes them when determined upon, with as much energy as if his own.[50]

This time, however, they came to the parting of the ways. Dr. Lamb, in his introduction to the second volume of the McLoughlin letters, writes:

> Meanwhile McLoughlin had held stubbornly to his opinion. Simpson's plan was diametrically opposed to the conceptions upon which he had developed the coastal trade over a period of fifteen years, and he refused to regard it with anything but hostility and resentment. Moreover, Simpson had soon added fuel to the flames by reviving the long standing depot controversy. He broadened his proposals to include the building of a new post at the southern (instead of the northern) end of Vancouver Island, and this he intended should by degrees supersede Fort Vancouver as the Company's headquarters for the entire region.[51]

The disagreement resulted in the interchange of a series of letters at Honolulu, where, according to Sir George's Narrative (I, 433-34), they were housed in the second floor of an abandoned palace, consisting of two large and two smaller "apartments," hung with engravings of the American Declaration of Independence and a portrait of the King of Prussia, "badly executed in oil." Each party set out his views in somewhat acrimonious fashion at considerable length, and here California seems to have become a major subject of dispute for the first time. On March 1, 1842, Simpson addressed a long and detailed series of instructions to McLoughlin from which I quote a portion:[52]

**** SIMPSON TO McLOUGHLIN, I

8. I believe you fully agree with me as to the inexpediency of persevering in our attempt to form a business in California. On this subject I have said so much to the Govr. & Committee in the annexed pars. of my dispatch, that it is not necessary to enlarge thereon in this communication. By the accompanying letter to Mr. Rae, you will see that I have requested the business be wound up with the least possible delay, and that, if the premises cannot be sold, that they be rented to some good tenant, if such can be found, who will keep them in repair until they can be otherwise disposed of. Mr. Rae seemed to think, that, in the course of this season, he would have, of his own collection, about 10,000 Hides: of that, however, I am very doubtful. By the accompanying letter and instructions given to him while in California, he is authorised to purchase for cash or goods, or take on freight for England, a sufficient quantity of Hides, with his own collection, to make up a return cargo for the *Prince Albert.* From the unwillingness of the people of California to do any business that is likely to prove advantageous to the Company, with a view of discouraging our continuance in the trade, I am apprehensive Mr. Rae will not be able to make a purchase at the market price, nor to get hides on freight. It may, therefore, be well to provide at the Columbia a quantity of choice spars, equal to half a cargo, for the English

Market, and to send the vessel on to California immediately after she has discharged her cargo at Vancouver, sending an active, intelligent officer, to act under the directions of Mr. Rae at San Francisco, or as Supercargo.[53] If a full cargo can be obtained, the spars may be left or sold upon the coast, if not, to be taken on to England, in either case the ship taking her departure direct for England (without touching at the Islands or elsewhere) before the 15th November, so that she may arrive in London in time to proceed to the Bay in June.

9. As it is not intended to continue the California business, it will be unnecessary to provide the decked Launch required;[54] and any goods that may be imported, intended for that market, instead of being forwarded should be made applicable to meeting any demands for the Sandwich Islands or for Vancouver, as I am decidedly averse to forwarding any more goods to California under any circumstances, and must put an unqualified negative on the drawing of funds for cash purchases after the cargo of the *Albert* shall have been provided; indeed, every transaction that we have entered into in that country of late, will be found to be productive of vexation and loss;[55] and after the contracts and other Engagements that have been already entered into for the purchase of Grain,[56] are completed, I have to beg that no farther transactions of any kind be entered into with any one, of whatever rank or standing in California. The grain which Governor Alvarado, Genl. Vallego and Mr. Sutter have contracted to deliver, I consider, would be a very dear purchase even at the freight & charges of transport, and that submitting quietly to the loss of the purchase money, which was paid in advance, would be a safer and better way of getting out of the transaction, than by sending craft for the purpose of transporting it.

10. From Mr. Ermatinger's report [see note 48 above] of the country both on the Sacramento and other rivers falling into the Bay of San Francisco, and that of the Rio Colorado, about Red Bay, it is quite evident that no good can arise from prosecuting the Fur trade or maintaining the trapping parties in those districts of country;[57] and after the operations of the present season are over, instead of sending the Expedition back to California, or forming a trading establishment at Pelican or Trinidad Bay, as was contemplated, or any other part of the coast or interior country, South of the Shasty Mountains,[58] I have to beg that the Expedition be broken up, unless you can find useful employment for it in the Snake country; in short, the sooner we break off all communications, either directly or indirectly with California, the better.

11. I think Mr. Rae ought to remain at his post until after the killing season of 1843, and that in the fall of that year a vessel be sent to remove the hides, such part of the property of the establishment as cannot be disposed of for prompt payment, and to carry Mr. Rae and the people back to Vancouver; but on no consideration to prolong the winding up of this losing

business beyond the autumn of 1843; and any debts that may then be outstanding, I would recommend being sold, if possible, to Mr. Spence of Monterey [see note 20 above], Wilson & Scott of Santa Barbara,[59] or any of the very few other respectable people in that quarter, at any thing they may fetch; indeed I should think 33-1/3 p.cent. prompt payment, on the debts that may be then outstanding would be their full value.

McLoughlin on the same day replied[60] to this letter, defending his actions regarding San Francisco, which produced the following rejoinder from Simpson on March 3, 1842.[61]

SIMPSON TO McLOUGHLIN, II

2. With regard to the instructions given to Mr. Rae, in reference to the purchase of an Establishment at San Francisco, and to the mode of conducting the business in California, no doubt can exist that those instructions were dictated by a most anxious wish to place that new branch of business on an advantageous footing; but you quite misunderstood the Govr. & Committee's desire with regard to an Establishment, who never could have meant the purchase of some 100 or 150 yards frontage by as many in depth, at the wretched place of Yerba Buena, which of all others is the least adapted in point of situation & climate for an Establishment;[62] their Honors' view and intention having been to get possession of a large district of country, where they might, if hereafter found advisable, carry on pastoral and agricultural operations upon an extensive scale, besides other business. Such a district of country might have been obtained by management without any purchase, and the very few servants that would have been required to carry on the business, could easily have erected the buildings necessary in such a climate for their protection from the elements. Under these circumstances it would not have been necessary to detain the vessel, as a place might have been rented for the purpose of depositing the goods until our arrival upon the spot, at some 200 or 300$, instead of paying 4600$ for the buildings we have got, which, as you say, are not paid for in Cash, but in goods at 50 p.cent. advance on Vancouver prices, which, at that low per centage, will be found to amount to much more money than if paid for in specie. But, as stated in my letter to the Gov. & Committee, I must repeat, the business was gone into precipitately,[63] and knowing as you did that I was expected in the Columbia in the month of August, and that I should be in California in the course of the Winter, it would have been better to have *so* long (say from 3 to 4 months) deferred any final arrangement, until we should have been enabled to form an opinion for ourselves upon the spot, as to the best mode of embarking in that branch of business.

****

5. With further reference to the California trade, which you agree with me does not appear to be an object for the Company to prosecute, I have no

doubt it might be found to answer by an industrious individual without capital, who had nothing to lose; but in the present state of that country I am decidedly of opinion that any Capitalist embarking in business there, must lose his means, unless gifted with more than ordinary prudence in his dealings; and in conclusion to my reference to this subject, I do not see that any good can arise from you or Mr. Douglas revisiting California; on the contrary, I think that both your time and the time of that Gentleman would be much more usefully employed by remaining at your posts, especially so, as I cannot give my consent to continue this branch of business, which in my opinion can be productive of no other results than loss and inconvenience, while it distracts our attention from more important duties, and deprives us of the means of employing our shipping upon other and more productive branches of business, I have, therefore, to beg that the business be wound up in the course of the year 1843, leaving, if necessary, Mr. Rae *alone*, unencumbered by family or followers of any description to close any outstanding matters, until the following Spring or Summer, when he may take a passage from California to the Sandwich Islands, in any vessel proceeding thither, and from the Islands go to Ft. Vancouver or by any favorable opportunity.

As we see from the foregoing, Rae was notified by Sir George Simpson that the San Francisco establishment was to be closed. He was promised a ship, the *Prince Albert*, to load with hides for the summer. This promise was based on the assumption that the company's vessel would reach the coast at the usual time. The officials in London found it necessary to make other arrangements for the *Prince Albert*.[64] They then had to charter the *Valleyfield*, and the delays involved prevented her from reaching Vancouver until July 21, 1842. In addition to her other cargo, she had new boilers aboard for the *Beaver*. The *Beaver* was at Nisqually, at the lower end of Puget Sound; consequently this meant further delay while the *Valleyfield* went there to unload the boilers. As the latter's cargo had been damaged by leakage,[65] McLoughlin released her, but suggested that she call at San Francisco as Rae might have a cargo of hides. The supercargo of the *Valleyfield*, Captain Woodward, promised to call, so McLoughlin gave him ". . . 15 barrels Salmon, 56 barrels Flour, and 6 puncheons Rum, which is in demand at St. Francisco, and of which in consequence of the happy event of no liquor being sold on the Coast, we have a superabundance, and Calefornia is the only place where we can sell it . . ."[66]

The *Valleyfield* did touch at Yerba Buena, reaching there on 29th October 1842. By her Rae dispatched the following letter, addressed to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company in London:

To Yerba Buena, November 1st 1842.
William Smith esq
Sir

I address you this letter.—By Sir George Simpsons directions in January last as well as by letter received from Cheif Factor McLoughlin received the 29th ultimo by the Ship Valleyfield, I Beg leave to say that I would make a more general report on the state of trade on this coast to the Governor & Committee, had I not been so long confined in bed, and not yet able to write myself.

2d. I have concluded to dispatch the Valleyfield to the Sandwich Islands without freight not having sufficient belonging to the Company of Furs & hides to authorize me to pay the demurrage and tonnage duties, had a vessel arrived at the time specified by Sir George Simpson and Chief Factor McLoughlin; to say the latter part of June or first of July of the present year I could have obtained sufficient freight, but being uncertain as to the time of the vessel's arrival I could not make any fixed agreement; I could have had freight to the amount of 30,000 hides including those belonging to the Company and at 2/6 sterling per hide,[67] but I do not wish this to be understood as a general rule, by which to form an idea of the freight from this coast.—

3d. I have collected at this station for outfit 1842 up to the present time.

Bullock Hides	5000
Tallow	20,000 lbs.
Otter Skins (Land)	445
Beaver	254
Sea Otter	6
Wheat	3000 fanegas

of which amount part of the otter & beaver have been dispatched by the Cowlitz to the Columbia River.

4th. The trade here has been very much depressed the past year, on account of the number of vessels on the Coast and great inf[l]ux of goods, the collections consequently have been much smaller than was expected and all the merchants have been disappointed, not less than fourteen vessels having been in this bay, and many with larger amounts out than the Company.[68] The year before having been one of great drougth has placed the people in a bad situation, being obliged to pay the debts of two years in one, the establishment by that has had probably one of the worst years for sales & collections that would be experienced for some time, and I have had many difficulties to Struggle with in my business, but on the whole have the pleasure to know that I have suceded better than any commercial interest here; to enter fully into the subject of the smaller difficulties of business here, would occupy more of your time than the subject demands, especially as I know you have received full information on the subject and am aware that Sir George Simpson has written fully likewise.—

5th. Owing to the arrival of several men of war from the United States of North America, one of which *has had* possession of the Capital of the province, affairs are now in a very precarious situation. Should they finally take possession of the country, goods would fall very much in value, but the landed estate would rise in value, and consequently though the Company might lose on the goods, the rise in value of real estate would in a measure counterballance.

6th. In a short time hence I shall be under the necessity of drawing on their Honours for about the amount of $3,000, say Three Thousand Dollars which I am authorized to do by Sir George Simpson.

I have already mentioned my sickness which prevents my writing as fully as I could wish.

in the meantime
I have the honour to be
Your very Obt Svt
[SIGNED] W. G. Rae [half rubric]

On reverse:
C. T. Rae
Yerba Buena Nov. 1/42
Recd. Aug. 27/43.

The reference to the taking possession of Monterey by U. S. war vessels is, of course, to the action of Commodore Jones, who hoisted the American flag on the rumor that war with Mexico had broken out. He soon discovered his mistake and returned the town to its owners with apologies and the honors of war.[69]

Although the instructions of Sir George Simpson were quite specific not to send a trapping party into California again, we find McLoughlin writing to the governor and committee on October 31, 1842:[70]

> 22. The Calefornia party under Mr. Ermatinger made poorly out, but still as by letting those men hunt in this vicinity, they would be tampered with by our opponents, I sent them back to hunt in the Bay of St. Francisco under the charge of Mr. Laframboise, and it is probable they will remain out two years.

On May 29, 1843, McLoughlin wrote the London officials of the company as follows:[71]

McLOUGHLIN TO GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, I

2. The *Columbia* from London, and *Vancouver* from St. Francisco, crossed the Columbia Bar, together, and arrived here on the 12 Inst.

3. By the *Vancouver*, we received the returns of Calefornia Outfit 1842, and the Accounts, by which it appears, that the Outfit has cleared £2363, it lost in 1841, the sum of £900, but this is because it arrived too late, in the season, and it must be taken into consideration, that it has paid $4600 for the house, for which it has taken no credit, that 40 p. cent is deducted from the outstanding debt, and although the heavy Calefornia duties are paid on the goods on hand, still we only Credit them on Inventory at 33-1/3 p. cent on prime cost, the same as at this place, and it is certain, from our not having been able to send a vessel to go along the Coast, the business has not had a fair trial, however I write Mr. Rae to write you fully on the subject, and give you all the information he possesses, so as you will be better able to

decide, if it is to be continued or not. And to do the business justice, Mr. Rae would require to have a vessel similar to ours, to run up and down the Coast, to trade and collect hides, as other collectors do, and if we could not fill her up with the hides we procured, we would get hides for the purpose on freight to London. And the best way we can remit to London, the dollars we get at Woahoo, is to send them to Calefornia, to be invested.[72] There are by last Accounts about nine thousand dollars at Woahoo, if we had a vessel, disposable to send from here to Woahoo, to take these dollars to Calefornia, it would enable us to procure about twenty thousand Hides, by paying half Goods and half Cash. It is true we have two vessels here, the *Vancouver* & *Columbia*, but they are both required to go to the Coast, with the Russian Goods & Grain [see note 24, above] and the Outfits for the Coast.

4. The best way at present to carry on this Trade (with the information we have) is to put the Goods, for Calefornia Trade, on board the vessel with the freight for Sitika, and that she should touch at Woahoo to get the dollars, proceed to Sitika, deliver her freight, come here to communicate your instructions and proceed to St. Francisco, where she ought to be by the 1 June, and remain there till I Novr., as by that time, she would have a Cargo of hides for the London market.

5. If the business is to be continued, Mr. Rae will require assistance, which can be sent from this.

Apparently much cheered by the favorable showing of the San Francisco trade for 1842, McLoughlin was hoping for a reversal of Simpson's orders to close the San Francisco establishment.

Following the instructions noted above, Rae wrote the secretary in London as follows:

Yerba Buena
27th August 1843

William Smith Esquire
& &

Sir

By a letter received from Chief Factor McLoughlin dated 29th May last, I am directed to address you for the information of their Honors and to communicate my opinion regarding the California Trade.

Sir George Simpson is so decidedly opposed to the Company's carrying on business in this Country that my ideas on the subject would have but little effect with their honors. I therefore decline giving any opinion whatever, but beg to refer their Honors to the Copy (in part) of my letter to C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin dated 14th October 1841,[73] which I herewith forward, no part of which communication I so far see any cause to change my mind about, except to the paragraph which refers to the purchasing of hides etc. for half Cash and half Goods, though authorised [Simpson to McLoughlin, Mar. 1, 1842, ¶9, quoted above] I have as yet been unable to transact any business in this manner. The best way is for their honors to judge by the result of Outfit 1842, an Account Current of which C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin has forwarded.

The Barque Diamond Captain Fowler arrived here two days ago from the Columbia with a Cargo of Lumber etc., for Oahu and this is the only opportunity I have had of addressing you since the receipt of Chief Factor McLoughlin's letter, already alluded to.

The Company's trapping Party under the charge of Mr. Leframboise left the Sacramento a few days ago. They have made out miserably I do not think the whole hunt exceeds 650 Otter and beaver Skins.

Should their Honors decide on continuing the California Trade, it will be necessary to send here by earliest opportunity the requisition for this place, forwarded from Fort Vancouver in the Spring of 1841, for Shipment 1842–Outfit 1844.

The prospects here at present are by no means good, the season has been remarkably dry, the result is no Grass, the Cattle are poor, the people consequently will not kill them, and the wheat Crops have generally failed.[74] I herewith forward a Copy of my letter to Chief Factor McLoughlin, relative to his late unfortunate son [murdered in April 1842], who could not have become more strict afterwards at Stekine than I was whilst there and then it was necessary–We had some of the greatest Scoundrels in the Indian Country to deal with.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obedient humble Servant
[SIGNED] W. G. Rae [rubric]

On reverse:
W. G. Rae
Y. Buena Aug. 27/43
Recd. Jany 9/44
Read, 10th.

Rae, as this letter shows, was not as hopeful as McLoughlin that the London authorities would overrule Simpson's orders, and he declined to be drawn into the controversy.

McLoughlin in a letter to London dated November 15, 1843, notes the return of the California trapping party under Michel Laframboise, mentioned in the foregoing letter of Rae's, and adds that in the coming winter they will hunt about the Umpqua.[75] This was the last California trapping party. In the same letter he repeated his views concerning the Yerba Buena store, in the same terms as in his earlier letter. This must have been done after receipt of a letter from London dated December 21, 1842, which commented on the California business and which said "We therefore approve of the determination, that has been come to, of discontinuing that branch of the business."[76] Certainly in eleven months some copy of this letter would have reached him, notwithstanding the slow and irregular means of communication. McLoughlin's next reference is in a letter to London dated July 4, 1844.[77]

McLOUGHLIN TO GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, II

3. I have not heard from Mr. Rae since May 1843 when our party left there to come here at which I am not surprised, as we have no communication with that place, except when our vessels or hunting parties go there, and since 1842 we have had no hunting parties in that direction, and it has been quite impossible for me to send any of our vessels to Calefornia since the *Vancouver* was there Spring 1843, and it is quite out of my power to send any this Season, unless perhaps the *Cadboro* after she has accomplished the Service on which she is now employed; she left Cape Disappointment 10th June with part of Fort Langley Outfit, from thence she returns with a Cargo of wheat to Fort Victoria, takes the Nisqually Outfit to that place, & brings the Returns & wool to Fort Victoria proceeds to Langley with the remainder of the Outfit, brings a Cargo of last Years Salmon to Fort Victoria, & returns to Langley for a Cargo of this Years Salmon, with which she will be here in September, when it will be too late to proceed (to be of any possible use) to Mr. Rae; and I enter into these particulars, how the *Cadboro* is employed, as persons unacquainted with the details of the Business of this Department, suppose this transport can be performed by the Steamer, but when this transportation has to be made the Steamer is obliged to attend to the trade of the Coast.[78]

****

5. From my ignorance of Mr. Rae's situation I cannot say what to do, and must leave it to him to decide, and I now send him a list of the goods at Woahoo, and have written him to order from Messrs. Pelly and Allen[79] any goods suitable to the Trade of Calefornia, and have written to these Gentlemen on the subject.

But perhaps since you wrote me you have communicated your decision to Mr. Rae, & of course that will settle the business.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY WITHDRAWS FROM CALIFORNIA SCENE

McLoughlin wrote to Rae in the summer of 1844, sending the letters by Capt. Thomas Baillie of the *Modeste*, a British war vessel. Although Baillie saw Rae, he forgot to deliver the letters but took them on to Honolulu.[80] On November 21, 1844, McLoughlin acknowledges a letter from the Governor and Committee of April 1, 1844, which had contained specific and emphatic orders to close the California business.[81] Apparently for the first time McLoughlin decided to make an effort to comply with his instructions. It was not until March that he was able to despatch the *Cowlitz* to pick up Rae and his goods.[82] On arrival at Yerba Buena, her officers found Rae had committed suicide on January 19, 1845. They also found James Alexander Forbes, British vice-consul, on the company's premises. According to the latter's letter to McLoughlin, dated San Francisco, January 21, 1845, Rae had left the establishment in his charge. Rae also left two letters[83]:

> A. No. 1 Yerba Buena, 18th January 1845 to all whom it may concern I hereby declare that I have got myself into difficulty through the intrigue and malice of others, but that I have never intentionally wronged the Hudson's Bay Coy. a single farthing, that their property will be squandered, books destroyed, and no outstanding debts appear remg. after I am no more I am satisfied of, but this the Company ought to blame themselves for as they have entirely neglected the Calefa. trade in not sending Vessels here to receive the Returns at the time they were collected. This is truth, so help me God. (Sd.) W. G. Rae.
>
> No. 2. The amount of property I should estimate in Furs, Hides & Tallow at twenty four thousand dollars

four thousand dollars	$24,000
Cash & Goods eight thousand	8,000
House & Debts sixteen thousand	16,000
Total forty eight thousand Dollars	$48,000

> I am certain the amount is greater than this, but the whole will be lost to the Hudson's Bay Coy. through the intrigue of Mr. Ridley, Mr. Hinckly, Mr. Spear, and I believe the Foreigners in this Country.[84] Let them take care of my unfortunate (or unhappy) family(till they are sent to the Columbia to their friends and that is all I ask—may God bless & protect them, sincerely wishes (Sg.) W. G. Rae Yerba Buena 20th Jany. 1845.

Rae's suicide created a great deal of speculation among the inhabitants of Yerba Buena and Monterey as to its impelling motive. A great variety of reasons ranging from domestic to political were adduced as well as business difficulties. All, however, agreed that heavy drinking was a factor in the case.[85] McLoughlin reported the death to London in a letter dated July 19, 1845. He reviewed all of the possible motives except the domestic, which apparently Forbes did not touch upon in his letter, and concluded that the fear of expropriation of the Company property because of Rae's sale of ammunition and arms to Alvarado in his unsuccessful revolt against Governor Micheltorena was at the bottom of it.[86] To this he added that he feared that the lack of communications and instructions either from London or from himself might well have been a contributing factor.[87] Thomas O. Larkin, U. S. consul at Monterey, reported at the time to the state department that the suicide resulted mainly from the part Rae had taken in the revolution. Besides the sale of arms, he had been present at Santa Teresa where the insurgents had an initial success.[88]

It was mid-December 1845 before McLoughlin could despatch a vessel (the *Vancouver*) to San Francisco. Dugald Mactavish went on her and closed up the business while the vessel went to Honolulu and returned.[89] He sold the building to Mellus and Howard for $5000. The total loss on the establishment proved to be only £326 5s 2d. This did not include $10,000 in accounts receivable.[90] There should have been some recovery on these accounts. Although Forbes complained the previous October that it was impossible to make any collections,[91] within six months after the property was sold the American flag was raised and an era of growth and prosperity set in for Yerba Buena and the Bay Region.[92]

The purchase by Mellus & Howard of the Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters, considered the best structure in town, enabled them to start their mercantile career at the beginning of this flood tide under very favorable conditions. They became, and continued to be the leading mercantile house, and did a large and expanding business, establishing branches in Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Jose after the discovery of gold.[93] Meantime in the two years before this event, the firm had prospered sufficiently to command unlimited credit with their eastern correspondents. Mellus and Howard sold out the business in 1850 and retired to care for large individual fortunes, amassed since acquisition of the site. Howard retained the building, which was transformed into the United States Hotel and rented for $36,000 a year. This state of affairs only lasted for a year as the building was burned in the great fire of May 4, 1851.

NOTES

43. Bancroft, *History of California, op. cit.*, IV, 218; on p. 220, n. 30, he transcribes Simpson's letter of Jan. 12, 1842, to General Vallejo, in which Simpson denies Sutter's (whom he calls "Mr. Sutor") report that the H. B. Co. would lend its support to unfriendly measures against Governor Alvarado or Vallejo. See especially Simpson to Sir J. H. Pelly, March 10, 1842, in *Am. Hist. Rev., op. cit.*, pp. 88-89, giving his opinion of General Vallejo, between whom and Alvarado he suspected that there was enmity. This varies considerably from Simpson's account of Vallejo in his *Narrative*, I, 309-310.

44. See Simpson, *Narrative*, I, 328, 330, for visit to Francisco Guerrero y Palomares at the mission. The mission, upon the abolition of the ayuntamiento in May 1839, was nominally head town of the partido or district, and Guerrero became juez de paz (justice of the peace) or alcalde. His term was continued through 1841. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 705-706; IV, 666-67.)

45. Simpson's *Narrative*, I, 343.

46. *Idem*, p. 197; the ship was the *Fama*, belonging to Alpheus B. Thompson. Rae had to make use of the vessel in 1845 to ship hides to Oahu. She was wrecked in Feb. 1846 near Santa Barbara. (D. Mackenzie Brown, *China Trade Days in California* (Berkeley, 1947), pp. 45, 48-49.)

47. *Letters*, III, xxiv. McLoughlin accompanied Simpson on this tour; no hint of disagreement respecting the San Francisco post manifested itself between the two men until they were in Honolulu.

48. For Francis Ermatinger's call on Sir George, see Simpson's *Narrative*, I, 350-52; also, Simpson to McLoughlin, March 7, 1842, ". . . Mr. Ermatinger, both while at Vancouver & Monterey, having repeatedly said that there was no field south of the Umpqua, where a party of more than 10 or 12 trappers in number can be employed to advantage (*Letters*, II, 287).

49. Simpson's *Narrative*, I, 387-88.

50. *Letters*, II, xvii.

51. *Idem*, xvii-xviii.

52. *Idem*, pp. 266-67.

53. Douglas had recommended in his letter to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841, that: "A gentleman with two men would suffice to manage the internal affairs of the establish-

ment [at San Francisco]; another gentleman would be required to attend to the outdoor business . . . and at times . . . at Monterey to clear vessels, and settle matters amicably with the officers of the customs . . . (*Letters*, II, 255). See note 15 above.

54. See note 32 above.

55. In his letter to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 14, 1839, Douglas had applied the term "unaccountable repugnance" to describe the official Californian attitude toward licensing the H. B. Co.'s vessels (*Letters*, II, 206), echoing Douglas' and Capt. Brotchie's experiences the previous year in connection with the "vexatious delays and unjust exactions, to which, all trading vessels are exposed within the Ports of Calefornia." (Douglas to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 18, 1838, *Letters*, I, 249-51.)

56. See Rae's letter of Oct. 14, 1841 (transcribed earlier in this paper), par. 4, which speaks of the lack of rain and failure of the crops. John Bidwell described the next season of 1842-43 as very dry, and that that of 1843-44 was the driest ever known, almost rainless (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 387, n. 14, citing Bidwell). All contracts were affected, including Sutter's annual (1843) payment in wheat to the Russians, as part of his purchase price of Ross.

57. Douglas had informed the Gov. *et al* on Oct. 14, 1839, that the Colorado River area abounded with beaver, "particularly near its discharge into the Gulf of Calefornia" (*Letters*, II, 225). Further, he reported to McLoughlin on March 23, 1841, that the company's hunters could be "licensed to hunt in all parts of the uncultivated frontier" (*idem*, p. 252). Whereupon McLoughlin wrote to George Simpson about the excellent prospects attendant upon their hunters being "able to hunt the entrance of the Rio Calorado, known by the name of Red Bay by the Calefornians where Beaver is said to be more abundant than I ever heard mentioned in any place of the same extent on the East side of the Mountains" (*idem*, p. 258).

58. Variations in the spelling of Shasta are described by Alice Bay Maloney, "Shasta was Shatasla in 1814," this QUARTERLY, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 229-34. Trinidad Bay was to be used as an assembly point where H. B. Co.'s "southern trappers" could be met by the *Cadboro*, carrying goods and traps, to enable Laframboise's men to make a fresh hunt before coming back to Fort Vancouver; the plan fell through in 1838 (Douglas to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 18, 1838, *Letters*, I, 251-54).

59. Capt. John Wilson and James Scott were Scotsmen, shipmasters, and otter hunters, whose partnership dated from 1839 to 1847. Accounts of their lives are given in Bancroft's Pioneer Register. Of Wilson he says: "There were few of the old pioneers better known or more respected than Captain Wilson." Simpson speaks of Wilson and Scott in his *Narrative*, I, 376-77, and notes the fact that Mrs. Wilson, Ramona Carrillo, was the widow of Capt. Romualdo Pacheco. McLoughlin informed Simpson on March 7, 1842, that "Captn. Willson and Mr. Scott . . . carry on a good business on their own capital and are doing well . . ." (*Letters*, II, 284).

60. McLoughlin to Simpson, March 1, 1842, *Letters*, II, 272-76.

61. Simpson to McLoughlin, March 3, 1842, *idem*, pp. 277, 278-79.

62. Douglas, in his letter to McLoughlin, March 23, 1841, had summed up his recommendations for California thus: ". . . a vessel having free access to all parts of the coast, with a small establishment in San Francisco, and after a beginning is made there, if, found expedient, in other Ports further South, particularly at San Pedro, where there is a valuable export of Produce.

"We would of course at the same time, turn attention to our own peculiar avocation of Beaver Hunting and test the reputed fur wealth of Red Bay." (*Letters*, II, 256.)

63. McLoughlin's defense was that Douglas, a few months previous to Rae's arrival in San Francisco, had made "a conditional bargain with the Owner . . . and if I did not wait till you came, it is because the nature of the business would not admit of delay, and

I considered it of little consequence to the Company, if it was necessary to do so, by whom it was done, provided it was well done." (McLoughlin to Simpson, March 7, 1842, *Letters*, II, 282-83.) Some four years before (Oct. 18, 1838), Douglas had warned the Gov. *et al* that "amid the growing relations of this District untried contingencies may demand the application of instant and vigorous remedies . . . [which] were influenced, by sounder motives, than the mere rage of innovation." (*Letters*, I, 236.)

64. *Letters*, II, 62, n. 2. A discussion of the situation is given in Simpson to McLoughlin, March 1, 1842, *ibid.*, II, 266, par. 8; and McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, July 19, 1845, *ibid.*, III, 82-83.

65. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 31, 1842, *Letters*, II, 75, where he informs them that when the *Valleyfield* was beached for repairs in Puget Sound, a seam of seven feet was discovered to have been left uncaulked. Rae (Oct. 14, 1841, par. 19, transcribed above) complained of spoilage on another vessel, the *Wave*, chartered by the company for a specific trip; McLoughlin, however, said that the shoes bought by the company in London were of inferior make, anyway, saying that they were ". . . flimsy . . . taking in water at every pore" (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Oct. 31, 1842, *Letters*, II, 69), and succeeded in persuading the committee to make their purchase from another London firm (*idem*, p. 306).

66. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Aug. 19, 1842, *Letters*, II, 63.

67. A portion of this paragraph from its beginning to the words ". . . sterling per hide," is quoted, with corrections in punctuation, by the Gov. *et al* in their letter to McLoughlin dated Sept. 27, 1843 (*Letters*, II, 314).

68. For ship arrivals in the ports of Upper California, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 339-40, wherein (n. 17) he lists 39 vessels "constituting the California fleet in 1842." Five belonged to the U. S. Pacific squadron. Of the others, "only seven are shown by the records to have brought cargoes this year. . . ." Receipts at the custom house are said to have shown a falling-off of one-third from the receipts of the previous year. As to the latter, the same authority lists 46 vessels for 1841, and gives custom-house receipts as amounting to $101,161 (*idem*, p. 209, n. 11).

69. Occupation of Monterey by Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones and his two ships, the *United States* and the *Cyane*, lasted only Oct. 19-21, 1842. Bancroft, *idem*, pp. 300 ff., especially pp. 304-11.

70. *Letters*, II, 81.

71. *Idem*, pp. 105-107.

72. In McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Nov. 15, 1843, *Letters*, II, 122-23, the case for a close connection between Oahu and California, to the advantage of the latter's trade, is restated. See also *idem*, p. 140, where McLoughlin says that the Gov. *et al* can "see from Mr. Pierces (of the House of Pierce & Brewer of Woahoo) letter in the Congress report, now sent you, how much he estimated the Calefornia Trade, and with what jealousy, he views what we have done, which is a proof of its value." The next year (July 4, 1844) McLoughlin suggested to the Gov. *et al* that provisioning of a possible British naval station at Oahu would "afford an outlet for the produce of this Country [Columbia District] and Calefornia would supply the beef." (*Letters*, *idem*, p. 201.) See also George Simpson's praise of conditions in Hawaii, *Narrative*, I, 287-90, 139-42.

73. See paragraphs 6 and 7 of the first letter of Rae's transcribed in the present series.

74. Other traders shared Rae's difficulties. In his résumé for 1843, Bancroft (*op. cit.*, IV, 375-76) speaks of the fear among Mexican revenue officers that "the Boston ships would abandon the trade altogether, so difficult had it become to obtain cargoes of produce, to collect debts. . . ."

75. For conditions at the Umpqua post, see Douglas to Simpson, March 18, 1838, *Letters*, I, 282.

76. *Letters*, III, xxv-vi, n. 5. As Simpson had expressed it, "The more I look into the

nature and character of the California business . . . the more I am convinced of the expediency of winding it up without delay. . . ." (Simpson to McLoughlin, March 7, 1842, *Letters*, II, 286.)

77. *Letters*, II, 194-96. McLoughlin says he had not heard from Rae since May 1843. Rae had, however, not been altogether silent, for in my collection is a photostat of a letter he wrote to William Smith, London, on Nov. 23, 1843, from Yerba Buena, saying that he had drawn at 30 days sight on the Gov. *et al* in favor of Henry Dalton for £455, and requesting them to honor it. Dalton, a pioneer of that year, was an English trader from Lima. According to Larkin, writing in 1845, he was a man of property and local influence, whose wife was the daughter of A. V. Zamorano, making Dalton a brother-in-law of Gen. J. M. Flores, last of the Mexican governors of California. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 773-74.)

78. The want of a vessel is restated by McLoughlin in his letter to Archibald Barclay (sec'y H. B. Co.), dated Nov. 25, 1844, *Letters*, III, 65-66.

79. See note 17 above, for Pelly. George Traill Allan, a Scotsman, born ca. 1810, entered the service of the H. B. Co. in 1830. From 1834-35 to 1841-42, he served as a clerk at Ft. Vancouver, shortly afterwards being sent to Honolulu, to succeed Archibald Simpson as joint agent with Pelly. For biog. note, see *Letters*, II, 383-84.

80. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, July 19, 1845, Letters, III, 81. *Cf.* McLoughlin to Sir J. H. Pelly (private letter), Jan. 6, 1845, saying, "As it would lose too much time at this season to bring the Vessel [*Columbia*] up here to Load with Lumber—she proceeds in Ballast to Oahu for Salt and Sugar on the way she will call at S. Francisco to Deliver a Letter to Chief Trader Rae instructing him to Wind up the Hudson Bay Companys affairs in Calefornia as soon as possible."

81. Quoted in *Letters*, III, xxvi (continuation of note 5).

82. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, July 19, 1845, *Letters*, III, 83.

83. Rae's two communications are transcribed from *Letters*, III, 78, notes 1 and 2.

84. Robert T. (or J. or F.) Ridley was an English sailor and clerk, who begins to appear in Larkin's books in Jan. 1840. He was in command of Sutter's Sacramento River launch and preceded (1841) John Bidwell as Sutter's agent at Fort Ross. He acted as clerk for Nathan Spear and Rae. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 668, and V, 695; see also *Letters*, III, 78, n. 3, and 79.)

William Sturgis Hinckley, a native of Massachusetts, was a sometime shipmaster, supercargo and trader between the U. S. and Honolulu, a confidential friend of J. B. Alvarado, popular with the Californians, and, in 1845-46, captain of the port of San Francisco after having served as alcalde. He was associated in business with Spear and Leese. Hinckley became a Mexican citizen in 1842; his death occurred in June 1846. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 785-86.)

Boston-born Nathan Spear made voyages to the Sandwich Islands in 1819, 1823 (touching at Monterey), and in 1829. By 1832 he was back in Monterey as a member of Zamorano's Compañia Extranjera, organized for the defense of the capital. Thereafter he was a storekeeper at Monterey, and owned a lighter operating to Santa Cruz. In 1836, came his association in San Francisco with Hinckley and Leese, mentioned above; but they fell out over profits. Spear continued at Montgomery and Clay streets, adding another vessel to his produce fleet. William H. Davis was his nephew and clerk. Spear died in San Francisco in 1849 at the age of 47. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 730.)

85. *Letters*, III, xxviii; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 593. William Sinclair, a young lad who had been sent to aid Rae in the store and who assisted Mrs. Rae at her husband's death, himself committed suicide on Oct. 30, 1899, after filling various positions with the company. *Letters*, III, 81, and 320-21 (biog. note).

86. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, July 19, 1845, *Letters*, III, 77. Rae went to the revolu-

tionists' camp only to observe, not as one of their number; ". . . in the same manner," said McLoughlin, "as many others did who had seen the tyrannical and brutal conduct of the Mexican soldiers towards the Calefornians and Residents in the Country. I presume however," McLoughlin adds, "that Mr. Rae went in feeling with the Calefornians."

87. *Idem*, p. 81.

88. Bancroft, *idem*, p. 594. See also "Documentary," this QUARTERLY, V (Sept. 1926), 299, James Buchanan, sec'y of state, Oct. 17, 1845, to Larkin, quoting the latter's despatch of July 10, 1845: ". . . Mr. Rae . . . furnished the Californians with arms and money in October and November last, to enable them to expel the Mexicans from the country. . . ."

89. McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Nov. 20, 1845, *Letters*, III, 149; see also, "Documentary," this QUARTERLY, V (Sept. 1926), 303-304, Larkin to Buchanan, April 18, 1846, informing the sec'y of state about Rae's suicide, and quoting (p. 304) Dugald Mactavish as saying that he had "orders to ship such hides or Furs as he may find in the Company's house at San Francisco . . . and per next Vessel return to the Oregon with the Body of the late Agent, his widow and children." The news of Rae's death spread along the coast. On Jan. 31, 1845, John C. Jones, merchant and shipowner, wrote to his brother-in-law and fellow merchant, Alpheus B. Thompson: "News has just reached Monterrey . . . that Mr. Rea at Yuerba Buena had blowed his brains out with a pistol, horrible, horrible." (Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 44.) For correspondence in connection with Mactavish's San Francisco assignment—viz., some hides that had been shipped for Rae, supposedly to San Francisco but carried on to Santa Barbara, near which the vessel was wrecked—see *idem*, pp. 46 ff (Mactavish to Thompson, May 12, 1846; and Thompson to same [1846]). Thompson, extremely annoyed, said he would report to McLoughlin Mactavish's conduct in the affair.

90. *Letters*, III, xxix. It will be remembered that George Simpson had stated in his letter to McLoughlin on March 1, 1842, quoted above, that ". . . indeed I should think 33½ p. cent prompt payment, on the debts that may be then outstanding would be their full value" (*Letters*, II, 268). Knowledge of past performances on the coast showed the uselessness of delaying settlement of accounts. For example, old debts had been inherited by the H. B. Co. when it took over the North West Co.: one of $850 from Gov. P. V. Solá, owing since 1816; and another, of $3,756, from J. M. Estudillo, representing "Sundries" left for sale in his charge. (McLoughlin to Gov. *et al*, Nov. 14, 1827, *Letters*, I, 54.)

91. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 593, n. 13.

92. This was the site which Simpson in his *Narrative*, I, 283-84, had called the "pretty little bay of Yerba Buena whose shores are doubtless destined, under better auspices, to be the site of a flourishing town. . . ."

93. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 679 (information on buildings in blocks 18 and 19). See also Gertrude Howard Whitwell, "William Davis Merry Howard," this QUARTERLY, XXVII (June 1948), 105 ff; and Davis, *loc. cit.*

Dr. Edward Turner Bale, *Incorrigible Californio*

By Dean Albertson

WHEN His Majesty's Ship *Harriet* ran aground off Monterey in 1837, one of the few survivors to get ashore from the wreckage was Dr. Edward Turner Bale. Born at London, England, in 1811, Bale had been educated for the medical profession, receiving his commission in 1836 as the *Harriet's* surgeon; the following year he made the trip around the horn to California.[1] However unfortunate was the end of the *Harriet*, it could not have happened at a more propitious time for Dr. Bale, as Manuel Alva, the leading physician in the pueblo of Monterey, had recently fallen from favor in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Gov. Juan B. Alvarado. Bale, therefore, settled into the pleasant life of the Mexicans at the capital of Alta California.

Monterey in 1837 was a sprawling little settlement of adobe houses, whose contact with the parent nation or the rest of the world was made only when foreign whalers and traders put into port. The ranchos surrounding the town were well-stocked and easily cultivated, leaving ample time for their owners to enjoy life. In such an atmosphere Dr. Bale's foible, his great thirst, developed to such a point that it became manifest on the ledgers of the pueblo's storekeeper, Thomas O. Larkin. The doctor ran up bills for several pesos worth of brandy, wine and cigars at a time. In a short while the town was discussing his tremendous consumption of grog, and he was forced to more prudent measures of picking up his liquor at the rear entrance of Larkin's establishment.[2]

Notwithstanding his failing for the bottle, Dr. Bale managed to carry on a certain amount of professional work, disconcerting as some of his duties may have been. In June 1838, for example, he examined the body of one Ortiz and reported that the demise had been caused by apoplexy as a direct result of excessive drinking.[3] There were people who considered that compensation was due the doctor only if he achieved desired results. During the early summer of 1839, he had been giving treatment to the wife of José M. Amador, and when the patient died despite his efforts, Bale was forced to sue her bereaved husband for his 150-peso fee.[4] Accordingly, to keep himself supplied with his own necessities, Bale engaged in commerce in a small way.[5]

By the end of 1839, he had become a familiar figure in northern California. His intelligence was unassailed, and his professional ability respected; but he was quarrelsome, and there were few who could abide that side of his nature. However, Doña María Ignacia Soberanes, a niece of Capt. Salvador Vallejo, found otherwise, and, upon Bale's making profession of his belief in Catholicism and applying for citizenship papers, they were married.[6] Don Salvador interposed with his brother, Gen. Mariano G. Vallejo, to obtain for Bale a grant of land in Napa Valley north of Sonoma. Captain Vallejo assured the doctor that his grant would be confirmed by Governor Alvarado (a nephew of General Vallejo), so Bale rode up to his land and constructed an adobe house upon it[7] although the actual residence of the newly-wed couple was at Monterey, the scene of his practice. Despite this assumption of marital responsibility, Bale's habits changed little.[8]

In 1840, Governor Alvarado, weary of the insults and lack of discipline among the foreign residents of the country, issued orders to have the offenders concentrated for deportation. The success of the coup d'état which had placed him in the capital had been due in large part to the efforts of many of these same foreigners, but their disregard for California law and their social familiarity with the caste-conscious Mexicans left but one solution. In April, a group of forty-six Americans and Englishmen was marched to Monterey. Isaac Graham, William Chard and James Coppinger, who had proven themselves unassimilable, were among them; foreigners such as Thomas O. Larkin, Abel Stearns, Timothy Murphy, and Dr. Edward Bale, who had made an effort to learn Spanish and otherwise fit themselves into the customs of the country, were not molested; and two days after the Mexican bark *Jóven Guipuzcoana* had sailed for San Blas with the banished aliens aboard, the doctor served as one of the hosts at a fiesta given to entertain the officers of the visiting ship *Don Quixote.*[9]

Bale had been acting for some time as medical examiner for the armed forces.[10] On May 11, 1840, General Vallejo appointed him surgeon-in-chief of the Mexican army at a stipend of twenty-six pesos per month. His new duties involved little more work than before, as he could examine men in the San Francisco Bay presidios on his frequent trips to and from the Napa Valley rancho;[11] so he kept up his private practice, being in attendance upon Mrs. Larkin for an unspecified ailment later that year.[12]

In December 1840, Dr. Bale approached Larkin to see if he could rent one of the shacks near the latter's home for the purpose of storing and dispensing medicinal supplies. Larkin was willing to lease the place for that purpose, but, being aware of Bale's somewhat inconsistent manner of doing things, he warned him that the room was to be put to no other use. Soon after Bale had deposited his medicines, Larkin found it necessary to leave Monterey for a few days, but before leaving he cautioned his wife to watch Bale and see that he obeyed the contract.[13] Larkin left on December 18, and shortly afterwards one of the servants informed Mrs. Larkin that Bale was preparing the room as a cantina for the sale of some of his medicinal supplies of high alcoholic content, et cetera. Mrs. Larkin went immediately to Bale and commanded him to cease his preparations. Bale replied that he would sell anything he chose in the room he had rented, and stalked off to find David Spence,[14] the judge of Monterey, who advised Bale to obey Mrs. Larkin.

This only irritated the doctor; he told Spence that he would obtain what he felt to be justice from the governor of California if no one else would give him satisfaction.[15] His excellency's permission was obtained to use the room for any purpose he wanted. When Spence enquired from which governor Bale had received this license, Bale replied that he of course had seen the only governor he recognized, Juan B. Alvarado. Alvarado, however, because of a recent illness, had invested his powers in Acting-Governor Manuel Jimeno Casarín, and Spence told Bale that only the orders of the latter were heeded at the juzgado. All Bale's arguments ended simply in his being told by Spence that if one real of whisky was sold, the doctor would find himself in prison. Upon Bale's threat to do Spence bodily injury, the judge ordered him to present himself at the juzgado under arrest.[16]

Two and a half hours later, Bale was released and Spence wrote to Gumesindo Flores, military commander of the port, explaining the events leading up to the court action and stating that he had not been aware that Bale, as surgeon of the Mexican army, enjoyed military exemption from civil imprisonment, and that consequently he, Spence, had released him to the jurisdiction of the military authorities.[17] Three days later, Spence sent another letter to Casarín. He reiterated the facts of Bale's arrest and release, and advised the acting governor that since the orders of Alvarado as governor had no effect in court, Spence would be pleased to honor Alvarado's signature as a private citizen; however, inasmuch as he had seen Bale leaving the ex-governor's house and had known that Alvarado was Bale's advocate, he could not proceed on his own authority, nor could Bale's disrespect to a judge and an acting-governor be overlooked.[18]

On the same day, Casarín addressed a letter to Comandante Flores stating that it was most expedient for the maintenance of social order that Bale's want of respect be not overlooked. He ordered the comandante to teach the army surgeon a lesson.[19] Flores started the proceedings down the chain of command on the twenty-second by ordering Rafael Pinto, the adjutant of the peace, to make an investigation of the charges against Bale; Pinto, in turn, appointed cavalry officer Jacinto Rodríguez to act as attorney in the prosecution.[20] When the summary court had been convened the following day, Pinto and Rodríguez went to Mrs. Larkin's house to take her testimony in the matter. She again decried the sale of intoxicating beverages on her property, and cited the contract between Bale and her absent husband. She suggested that corroboration for her statements could be obtained from Santiago Stokes, alleging that he had overheard the terms of the contract at the time Larkin explained it to her. Stokes was then ordered to appear and he sustained Mrs. Larkin's testimony.[21]

The roving court then moved on to Bale's house where he had been under detention. The doctor placed his right hand on the pommel of his sword, and, on his word of honor, promised the nation to tell the truth. Then he claimed that he had not only told Larkin that he intended to sell other things beside medicines in the rented room, but that he had also received permission to do so from Judge Spence. When Mrs. Larkin had showed such displeasure and the judge had reneged, he had procured Alvarado's acquiescence to the cantina.[22] The court dwelt long on the matter of Alvarado's permission, for only Bale recognized him as governor. The fact that all civil and military authority was subordinate to Jimeno Casarín made Bale's position untenable.

Bale's testimony concluded the trial. The papers of the case were turned over to Comandante Flores on December 24, and he immediately dispatched them to General Vallejo at Sonoma. On January 4, General Vallejo's verdict was returned ordering that Bale be placed under arrest for eight days, not as punishment for attempting to turn the Larkin premises into a tavern nor for breaking his contract with the owner, but for his disrespectful behavior toward the political authorities of the country.[23] By the end of January 1841, Bale was free again to carry on life as he chose, for on the 31st Sir James Douglas records in his journal that Bale came aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Columbia* with the customs officials to take tea with a former countryman. During the course of the conversation, Bale invited Sir James and the other officers of the *Columbia* to a dance which was to be given that evening at the pueblo. The Britisher refused, explaining that he would not think of coming to such a ball without an explicit invitation. Bale told him that it would be quite proper on *his* invitation as he was to be the master of ceremonies, but Sir James still felt hesitancy in accepting. He later congratulated himself on his insight when he discovered that Bale, himself, had not even been invited.[24]

In March 1841, Dr. Bale was called to examine a neighbor, Miguel Filoza, whom he found to have been seriously wounded in the neck by a blunt instrument. Bale administered aid, but it was obvious that the man would die, and the following day Filoza succumbed from the effects of his wounds. Bale reported the matter to the juez de paz, Simeón Castro, to whom he again presented himself on March 6 with an eight-peso debenture from the late Filoza for medical assistance. At the same time, the doctor claimed an additional fifteen pesos, which was allowed him by the court from Filoza's estate.[25]

The year before, General Vallejo had granted Bale legal permission to occupy the adobe he had constructed on his Napa Valley land. He was also pasturing stock on the property and had, besides, become fast friends with his neighbor, George Yount. Thus it was no great surprise when Mexican California legally embraced the doctor as one of its own on March 1, 1841,[26] and, two weeks later, the re-instated Governor Alvarado granted him complete possession of the four-league rancho in the northern end of Napa Valley.[27] Yount and his Caymus Rancho occupied the lower end. Bale's land had had various Indian names—Huilac Nama, Caligolmana, Kolijohnanok. To the wonderment of his neighbors, he redesignated it Carne Humana.[28] Near its center stood the house, 76 x 18 feet, around which he had planted fruit trees.[29] Like Yount he permitted scores of Indians to settle on his property, tend his stock, and till enough of the land to feed themselves, with the result that during the first years of his absentee ownership, and with no overseer in charge of the Indians, the farm output was meager.

In July 1841, non-payment of a debt brought Bale again into court. The preceding month he had made a contract with a Frenchman named Ricardo to sell the latter some mules; the mules were alleged to have been paid for but had never been received by Ricardo. Consequently he sued Bale for the loss incurred by the lack of mules at the rate of one peso per day for each beast. It was understood that if Ricardo won his case, this rate should continue until the animals were delivered. The military commander of Monterey wrote to General Vallejo setting forth the issues in the case, and suggesting—successfully, it appeared—that the amount owed Ricardo he deducted from Bale's wages until the debt was cleared, for, two months later, a notation was enclosed with the general's disbursement saying that nothing had been remitted for the surgeon.[30]

These duties of chastisement, incumbent upon General Vallejo as commander of the northern frontier, placed a great strain on the family bonds between his part of the clan and Bale's; nor was the tension diminished when, in January 1842, upon the general's sending a messenger to Bale (then at Yerba Buena) for some adhesive tape to treat a hip, bruised while lassoing horses, a mustard plaster was sent by mistake. This aggravated the bruise into an open sore and confined the general to his bed.[31]

In 1842, Dr. Bale applied for and was granted a town lot in Monterey. The following year he resigned his commission in the Mexican army and in June made a trip to Napa Valley with William A. Streeter, to induce the latter to purchase part of his rancho. But Streeter pointed out that it would be foolish for him to spend money on land when it could so easily be obtained by grant from the government. Bale then advised him to investigate the recently vacated Bodega region; he, himself, returned by way of Sonoma and, while there, made his ironic contribution of fifty pesos to the Mexican government for the erection of a municipal jail.[32]

The awkward situation between Bale and his wife's relatives finally ruptured into open hostility during the month of February 1844. Capt. Salvador Vallejo alleged that the doctor had circulated rumors impugning his veracity, and he had Bale publicly whipped at Sonoma. Shortly afterward the doctor went to Monterey. There he was jailed pending trial.[33] On February 15 he penned a note from his cell to the juez de paz, insulting the judges of the Sonoma district as not being qualified to handle his case, denouncing his imprisonment and contemning "such polite makers of the law as S. Vallejo." He concluded with a request to be allowed trial in Monterey instead of being returned for judgment to the Vallejo-dominated Sonoma court.[34] Two days later, Jacob P. Leese, the judge of the first district of Sonoma, wrote to the Monterey officials that he was not embarrassed to concede that his court did not have the authority to try Bale's case and that it would be a great favor if they could manage to arraign him at Monterey.[35] If Bale was sentenced by the Monterey court, the penalty must have been light, for he was again in trouble at Sonoma in May when Juan Miranda and Féliz Berreyesa brought suit against him on unspecified charges. The outcome of this action is unknown.[36]

The rancor between Dr. Bale and Don Salvador Vallejo emerged again during the month of July 1844. An armed truce seems to have existed between the two men in the interim, as they held a rodeo together with some of the other Napa Valley rancheros. In separating Bale's stock from that belonging to Vallejo, the vaqueros hired by Cayetano Juárez, George Yount and Bale caused a stampede and Bale lost ten or twelve animals.[37] Shortly afterward, elections of militia officers were held at Sonoma, and Bale came riding into town accompanied by fourteen mounted foreigners. As they proceeded down the street, Bale saw Don Salvador walking with Cayetano Juárez. The doctor drew a gun and, when at close range, fired twice, one of the shots grazing Vallejo's chest, the wadding from the second striking Juárez in the jaw.[38] Immediately, men standing nearby ran toward the spot. Bale fled across the plaza into the house of Alcalde Jacob Leese. The alcalde barred his doors and windows, but his efforts to save the doctor from violence were useless, for a band of Suisun Indians led by Solano broke in and dragged Bale from his hiding-place. They bound him and his companions hand and foot and prepared to take them to the encina del castigo (oak of punishment) for lynching. Leese was locked into one of his own rooms, and the Indian guards were left with instructions to kill him should he attempt flight.

Solano was well on the way with his prisoners toward the rustic scaffold when General Vallejo, at the head of the few soldiers he was able to muster quickly, caught up with them. Vallejo ordered the Indians to release Bale and the others to the custody of Sergeant Berreyesa, and they were conducted back to the Sonoma carcel. On their arrival, a heavy pair of leg irons was attached to Bale and his deposition was taken. This was sent to the new governor, Manuel Micheltorena. The governor's reply was to order an expeditious conclusion to the entire affair.[39]

Meanwhile, word of the fray moved across the countryside to the north and east where wagon-trains of American immigrants were settling. The Americans were suspicious of their uncordial Mexican hosts, for both the newcomers and the Californios knew of the unrest on the Texas border, and the jailing of a "white man" was an evil omen. On August 4, 1844, William A. Richardson wrote to General Vallejo that Theodore Cordua had visited

Sausalito the day before and had insisted he knew nothing of any story that immigrants, encamped on the Sacramento River, were intending to remove Bale forcibly from the Sonoma carcel.[40] But to Bale, still held prisoner on August 12, the story raised hopes that he might be able to go to his daughter Carolina, for he had received a letter from his friend and neighbor, Ralph Kilburn, that she had been badly burned when her nightgown caught fire from a bedside candle. Kilburn requested Bale to tell them what to do, saying that their efforts to alleviate the child's suffering thus far had been limited to pressing stripped potatoes on the burns.[41]

On the night of August 15, after retreat had been sounded and the lieutenant in charge of the guardia had retired, Bale called Corporal Juan Elisaldi to the prison window and offered to pay him 200 silver pesos or 100 calves if he would not prevent him from escaping. He wanted, Bale said, to reach Monterey, where he might receive a fair trial. When Elisaldi warned him that he would be promptly recaptured, Bale replied that once he found his friends on the Sacramento he would be safe; but the corporal refused to accept the bribe and, after doubling the guard, went to Sergeant Berreyesa with the whole story of Bale's attempt to escape.[42]

On August 28, two men from the Sacramento, Don Thomas Cordero[43] and Daniel Sill, were in Yerba Buena discussing the Bale situation with Alcalde William Hinckley. They warned Hinckley that five foreigners named Kelsey and one named Merritt had declared that if Bale were not released soon, they would come down to Sonoma and do it themselves. They added that forty men on the Sacramento were ready to take arms.[44] The next day Hinckley went to Sonoma to tell Jacob Leese what he had heard, and General Vallejo was also informed. The latter insisted that Hinckley make out a deposition to that effect and Leese was ordered to obtain statements from those named in Hinckley's deposition. In doing so, Leese offered to give security for the good behavior of Samuel Kelsey's brother.[45] After the Kelseys and several others in their party had certified that the rumors which Cordua was spreading were false, the affair was officially dropped, but the mistrust it caused between the Americans and Mexicans was not soon forgotten.

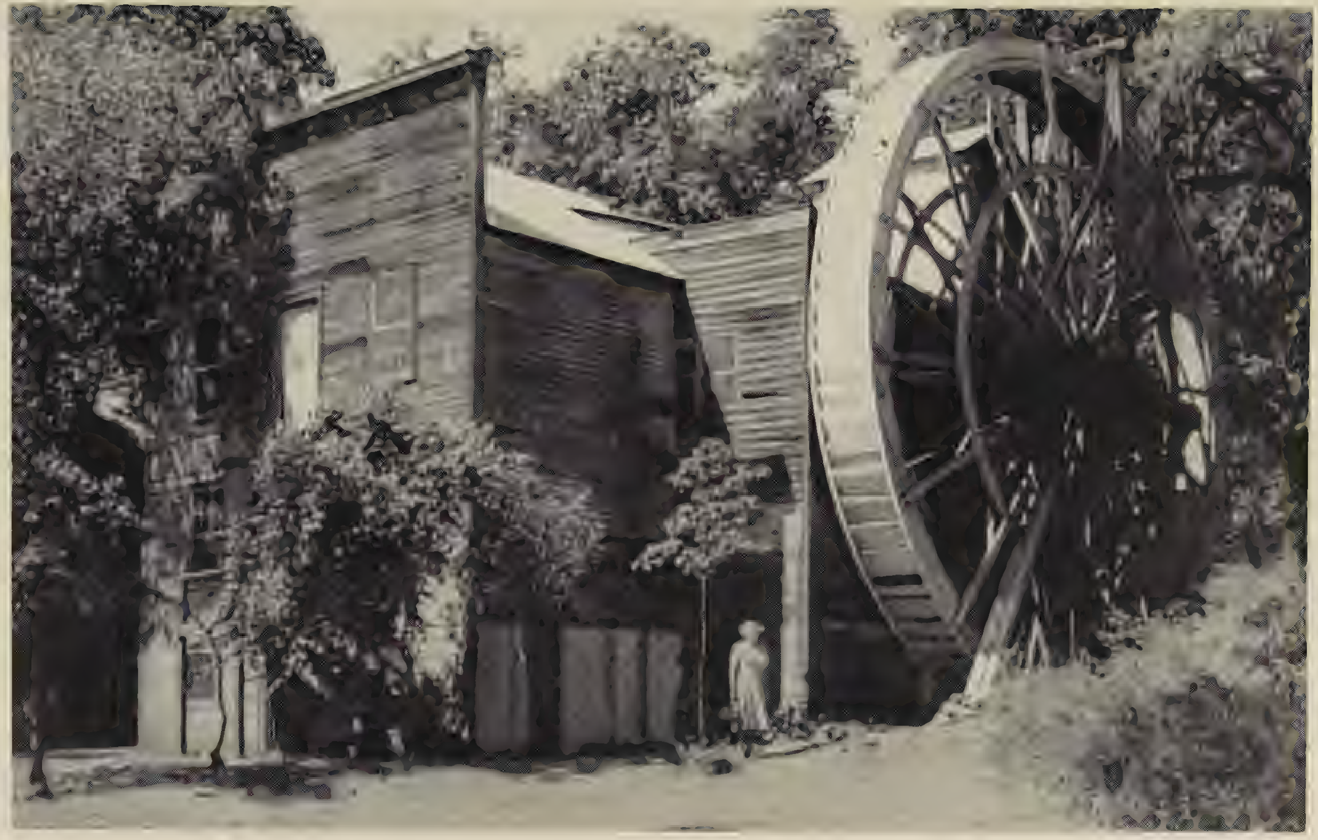
Despite the haste ordered by Governor Micheltorena in preparing Bale's case, the trial did not come up for hearing until the middle of September (1844). General Vallejo had written to Don Dámaso Antonio Rodríguez, the attorney for the defense, to attend to some other work for him. Finally, Alcalde Leese wrote to the general on September 14 asking for the return of Rodríguez to the court in order that the trial might proceed.[46] Meanwhile, Bale, who had been given partial liberty, had become so unruly as to insult Leese, the best friend he had in Sonoma; so the alcalde was forced to have him put back in the calabozo.[47]

Lieut. Col. Victor Prudon, a very close friend of Capt. Salvador Vallejo, had been chosen as prosecuting attorney, and, as had been anticipated, the case went against Dr. Bale. Gen. M. G. Vallejo immediately dispatched the ruling to Governor Micheltorena, who wrote back ordering that the case be dropped completely. In doing so, the governor pointed out that Bale was a British subject and he did not care to risk any encounter with England at this time. General Vallejo sent another letter to correct the governor's mistaken impression that Bale was not a Mexican citizen. The response was an order to free the doctor immediately, which led Vallejo to conclude that Micheltorena's decision had been influenced by his Scotch friend, Dr. William H. McKee.[48]

When Dr. Bale was released, he returned to his family, and in December 1844 he received an alcalde grant from William Hinckley for a 50-vara lot in Yerba Buena.[49] The events of the past year seemed to have had a somewhat sobering effect, for during the next few months Bale set about straightening the confused state of his finances. In April 1845, he acknowledged a debt to Thomas O. Larkin and promised to pay 273 pesos within five months.[50] At the same time he began to turn some attention to his Rancho Carne Humana. James Clyman passed by the Bale place that year and made a vivid note of its dry desolation and lack of cultivation;[51] however, toward the end of summer, Bale had begun to run a few sheep on the rancho, and, when his slaughtering had started, he wrote to Jacob Leese that he would be able to settle his account also.[52] On September 10, 1845, Bale was issued juridical possession of the Carne Humana Rancho by Sonoma Alcalde de la Rosa, Bale's friends Yount and Kilburn witnessing the deed. At that time he was raising enough food on the land to support the 500 Indians he employed there.[53] But he did not appear to be interested, as were the other ranchers, in raising huge herds of stock and growing farm produce on his land, for, the same month, he sold part of it to William and Henry Fowler and William Hargrave.[54] This supplied him with the cash to construct a water-power flour mill on the remaining portion. He had built a small grist mill as early as 1840, which the Indians had been working without any great amount of success.[55] The construction work on the new mill was done by a newcomer to California named Florentine Erwin Kellogg. Bale offered him 600 acres of the Carne Humana Rancho if he would do the iron work, with the result that the mill was completed the following year. The original mill wheel, 20 feet in diameter, had cogs made of wood. The millstones were quarried in the nearby hills, and the rancho's own redwoods furnished flume material to conduct water to the wheel.[56]

The same year (1845), Bale concluded a contract with Ralph Kilburn for the erection of a saw mill. Kilburn was to receive three-quarters of a league of land if he would build the mill and run it for ten years at one-half the profits.[57]

Meanwhile, Bale's friend, Nathan Spear, had been paying him a visit at



DR. BALE'S MILL

From a photograph taken in June 1949 by F. C. Wright of Santa Barbara. Mr. Wright's father was a cousin of William Wright ("Dan De Quille"), author of *The Big Bonanza.* Bale's mill is termed an historic landmark by the Native Sons.

the rancho. Upon returning to Yerba Buena he reported to Prefect Francisco Guerrero that he had discovered a vein of mercury on Bale's land. Guerrero passed the word through government channels, and penned a special note to Andrés Castillero, the entrepreneur of the famed New Almaden quicksilver mine.[58] It is possible that Bale did not know of the deposit on his property, but it is more probable that he did not take advantage of it because of other work; in either case, no use was made of the discovery until after his death.

Nothing is known of Bale's activities during the summer of 1846 when the Americans took Sonoma in the Bear Flag Revolt. Edwin Bryant reported having had breakfast with him at Carne Humana in November, but commented only on the favorable position his mill had among the pine and redwood trees.[59]

The next year Bale and Leese nearly came to blows over 200 feet of lumber, which, according to Leese, had been contracted for but had not been delivered; no basis for Leese's allegation was found and Judge Nash fined him seventy-five cents as court costs.[60]

During the summer of the same year (1847), Bale and Kilburn made a contract with Larkin for 40,000 merchantable clapboards (possibly for use in the Larkin and Semple subdivisions at Benicia) at $17 per 1000, to be delivered at the Napa launch landing in September. Of the proceeds, $200 was to go to Kilburn as soon as possible; the balance of $480 was to be paid to Bale in cash, bullock hides and young calves. But the clapboards were never delivered and Larkin was forced to sue the estate for the money he had paid the partners.[61] As to the grist mill, no records remain to show the extent of its success or failure.

In 1848, Bale sold the saw mill to James Harbin. Kilburn, who wanted to join the rush to the placers near Sutter's Fort, had been released from his partnership with Bale by payment of $1000.[62] Shortly afterwards, the doctor himself went to the mines where he contracted a fever from which he never recovered. In the fall of 1849, realizing that his life was nearly over, he sold a large part of his rancho to Kilburn in order that his family might not be in want. On October ninth of that year, Bale died.[63]

The incorrigible Californio, Dr. Edward Turner Bale, bore the title of physician when there were few real doctors in the province, and his name will always be associated with that profession; but he performed, likewise, a genuine service as one of the pioneer promoters of industry north of San Francisco Bay. When his foibles and failings have long been forgotten, Dr. Bale will still be remembered for his vision in building the famed old mill on Highway 29.

NOTES

(Unless otherwise stated, all manuscripts cited are in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.)

1. Calistoga *Tribune,* July 6, 1871; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), IV, 118.

2. Thomas O. Larkin, "Accounts" (MS), I, 140; IV, 11, 97-98.

3. "Monterey Archives" (MS, Recorder's Office, Monterey Co. Court House, Salinas, Calif.), III, 5.

4. *Ibid.*, XVI, 232.

5. Bale to M. G. Vallejo, July 4, 1839, Mariano G. Vallejo, "Documentos para la historia de California" (MS; hereinafter called Vallejo "Docs."), VII, 303.

6. The Calistoga *Tribune* (as in note 1 above) gives the year as 1839. Mariano G. Vallejo, "Historia de California" (MS; hereinafter called Vallejo "Historia"), IV, 392, gives improbable date of marriage as 1837.

7. Private land grant, Case No. 47 ND, p. 8. The papers in the land grant cases are filed in Room 355, main post office building, San Francisco.

8. Larkin, *op. cit.*, I, 72; IV, 234.

9. Thomas J. Farnham, *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California* (New York, 1850), pp. 95-103.

10. Vallejo "Docs.," IX, 95, 96.

11. Vallejo "Historia," IV, 392; "Archives of California," Dept. Records (MS), XI, 58-59; Vallejo "Docs.," IX, 231c.

12. Larkin, *op. cit.*, I, 175.

13. Spence to Flores, Dec. 18, 1840, "Monterey Archives" (see note 3 above), XVI, 327-28.

14. Clodomiro Soberanes, "Documentos para la historia de California" (MS), pp. 265-66.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 271. 16. Ibid., p. 272.

17. Spence to Flores, *loc. cit.*

18. Spence to Casarín, Dec. 21, 1840, *ibid.*, XVI, 329-30.

19. Casarín to Flores, Dec. 21, 1840, "Archives of California" (see note 11 above), XI, 34.

20. Soberanes, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59, 262.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-69. James Stokes was an English sailor who arrived in California in 1835 and worked at Monterey as a doctor, druggist, and trader.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-72.

23. M. G. Vallejo to Flores, Jan. 4, 1841, *ibid.*, pp. 274, 278.

24. Sir James Douglas, "Journal" (MS), pp. 69-70.

25. "Monterey Archives," III, 257-58; IV, 380-82.

26. Case No. 47 ND (see note 7 above), pp. 6, 33. George Yount had come to California from Missouri in 1831 and, five years later, settled on Caymus Rancho in Napa Valley.

27. Eugene B. Drake, *Jimeno's and Hartnell's Indexes of Land Concessions from 1830 to 1846 . . .* (San Francisco, 1861), p. 9.

28. Mrs. Henry D. Fitch, "Dictation" (MS), pp. 2-3; Case No. 47 ND, pp. 1, 6.

29. J. N. Bowman and G. W. Hendry, "Spanish Houses in the San Francisco Bay Region" (MS), p. 356.

30. Ricardo to Vallejo, July 22, 1841, Vallejo "Docs.," X, 219; Flores to Vallejo, July 26, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 234; Abrego to Vallejo, Sept. 23, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 288.

31. Sir George Simpson, *An Overland Journey Round the World during the years 1841 and 1842* (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 177.

32. "Monterey Archives," Solares de Monterey, 45; Vallejo "Docs.," XI, 390, 412; William A. Streeter, "Recollections of Historical Events in California" (MS), 23; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 678.

33. Vallejo "Historia," IV, 392; Mildred B. Hoover . . ., *Historic Spots in California,*

Counties of the Coast Range (Stanford Univ. Press, 1937), p. 284, describes Don Salvador's return from an Indian war and his visit to the Bale home. The warm greeting between Captain Vallejo and Doña Ignacia is said to have made the doctor jealous, whereupon he challenged Vallejo to a duel. Vallejo was one of the finest swordsmen in the country, and, after quickly disarming the doctor, he proceeded to whip him with the flat of his sword.

34. "Monterey Archives," XI, 1346-48.

35. *Ibid.*, XI, 1097. Jacob Leese arrived in California in 1833 and settled at Sonoma in 1841. He was a naturalized Mexican citizen from Ohio and married to General Vallejo's sister.

36. Vallejo "Docs.," XII, 14.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

38. Vallejo "Historia," IV, 392-94.

39. *Idem.*

40. Vallejo "Docs.," XII, 69.

41. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 47.

42. "Vallejo Papers" (MS; Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino), p. 82.

43. Probably Theodore Cordua.

44. Vallejo "Docs.," XII, 88.

45. *Ibid.*, XII, 92-93.

46. "Vallejo Papers" (see note 42 above), p. 91.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 95a.

48. Vallejo "Historia," IV, 395-97, says that Salvador Vallejo swallowed his pride and led Bale to freedom at Leese's Huichica Rancho, whereupon the doctor fell on his knees and begged forgiveness of the man who had publicly humiliated him.

49. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1852), p. 26. The lot today is on the south side of Sacramento St. between Grant Ave. and Kearny.

50. Vallejo "Docs.," XXXIV, 269.

51. Charles L. Camp, *James Clyman, American Frontiersman, 1792-1881* (San Francisco, 1928), p. 171.

52. Thomas Knight, "Statement" (MS; M. H. deYoung Museum, San Francisco, collection of Leese papers and documents), p. 14.

53. Case No. 47 ND, pp. 12-13.

54. *Idem;* Henry Fowler, "Stockraising in Napa Valley" (MS), p. 13.

55. *Historic Facts and Fancies,* History and Landmarks Section of California Federated Women's Clubs (n.p., n.d.), pp. 59-61.

56. *Idem;* Calistoga *Tribune,* as in note 1 above.

57. Manuel Castro, "Documentos para la historia de California" (MS), II, 66.

58. Nathan Spear, "Papers" (MS).

59. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (New York, 1848), p. 357.

60. Ernest L. Finley, *History of Sonoma County* (Santa Rosa, 1937), p. 228.

61. Thomas O. Larkin, "Documents for the History of California" (MS), V, 173; VI, 49; VII, 308.

62. Calistoga *Tribune, loc. cit.*

63. Case No. 47 ND, p. 38.

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A Check List of Publications Relating to California

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From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Adon. *Timothy Bookworm, Horesco Referens, Selected by William P. Wreden from Lays of Modern Oxford* . . . Menlo Park [Greenwood Press] 1949; Brooks, Benjamin S., "*Repartimiento*" Supreme Court of the State of California, Rudolph Steinbach, appellant, vs. Joseph H. Moore, et. al. respondents, brief on the part of the appellants . . . [n.p., n.d.]; California. Supreme Court, . . . *John Cochrane, Respondent, vs. David Collins, Appellant,* Transcript on Appeal From the District Court of the Fourth Judicial District . . . San Francisco [Francis, Valentine & Co., n.d.] With this are bound fifteen briefs of Brooks & Whitney; California. Supreme Court, *Decisions . . . In the Cases of Hart vs. Burnett, et al. and Holliday vs. Frisbie,* with notes and comments, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft Co., 1860; A Collection of twelve tracts in Spanish published in Mexico in 1948 and 1949 in a limited number and relating mostly to the Northwest Coast; Hernández de Cordoba, Francisco, *The Discovery of Yucatan,* with Translation of the original texts with an introduction and notes by Henry R. Wagner, [Berkeley] The Cortes Society, 1942; Hopkins, Caspar T., *A Manual of American Ideas,* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1873; Lambert, Mary, *Rhyming Oak Leaves,* San Francisco, Bancroft Co., 1892; Morrison, Anna M., *The Earlier Poems,* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1880; Newmark, Nathan, *The Code of Civil Procedure of the State of California,* San Francisco, Bancroft-Whitney Co., 1889; O'Connell, Daniel, *Lyrics,* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1881; Parburt, George R., *Anselmo: a Poem,* San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1865; Rattan, Volney, *A Popular California Flora, or, Manual of Botany for Beginners,* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1882; Scott, W. A., *An Address to the Members of the Forty-Second Street Presbyterian Church and Congregation,* [n.p., n.d.]; Title Insurance and Trust Company, Pasadena, *A Calendar of Events in the Making of a City,* Los Angeles, The Company, c1949; Wagner, Henry R., *Francisco Lopez de Gomara and his works,* Worcester, The Society, 1949. Reprinted from American Antiquarian Society Proceedings for October 1948; Winslow, C. F., *The Nazarite's Vow,* an Address Delivered Before The Sons of Temperance, in San Francisco, Sunday March 4, 1855, Boston, Crosby, Nichols, and Co., 1855.

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MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. JAMES E. BEARD—*Napa Valley Wine Press,* v. 1, no. 1 and continuation.

From MR. JAMES DONALDSON—*National Motorist,* v. 25, no. 5, July-August 1949 containing "Who Was America's Greatest Hunter?" [James Capen Adams] by Horace S. Mazet.

From MR. EDWARD J. FARRELL—Gilbert, Benjamin F. and Edward J. Farrell. "Cultural Beginnings of San Francisco," in *San Francisco Quarterly*, v. 15, no. 2, Spring 1949.

From MRS. WILLIAM J. GILMAN—*Kosmos . . . the Official Organ of the Geographical Society of the Pacific*, v. 1, no. 1-3, Feb.-April 1887.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—A specimen collection of over 200 California newspapers dating from 1860; A Volume I Number I collection of 185 different California periodicals; *Overland Monthly*, v. 87, no. 7, July 1928; *The New West* (Wasp Annual) v. 44, no. 50, December 15, 1900.

From MR. F. HAL HIGGINS—His: "A Green-Thumb '49er, Colonel Warren's Nursery Catalogues a Recent Important Find" in *California Farmer*, May 7, 1949; His: "Colonel Warren's Old Curiosity Shop" in *California Farmer*, July 16, 1949; His: "The Combine Parade" in *The Farm Quarterly*, v. 4, no. 2, Summer 1949; Sherwood, L. A. W., *Rice, Its Origin Production and Use;* as presented in an address before the San Francisco Rotary Club on August 10th, 1948.

From MR. J. W. JOHNSON—*California Engineer*, v. 27, no. 8, May 1949 containing his: "Engineering Highlights of the California Mining Days."

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT—*San Juan Amateur*, v. 1, no. 1, April 1, 1880.

From MRS. HANS C. NELSON—Twenty-three bound volumes of *Century Magazine*, New Series, v. 7-17, 23, 25-27, 29, 40-44, 50, 1884-1895.

From MR. HERBERT A. SAWIN—*The Scientific Monthly*, v. 69, no. 1, July 1949 containing his: "One Hundred Years of California Placer Mining."

From MAJOR J. M. SCAMMELL—*The Siskiyou Daily News*, June 21, 1949 containing his "Indian Troubles in 1856 Cause Formation of Guard Company."

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—*San Francisco News Letter*, Jubilee Edition, v. 48, no. 3, July 21, 1906.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. RIMO BACIGALUPI—Manuscript petition for title and original grant for Town Lot 64, Yerba Buena or San Francisco March 3rd 1847. Enoch P. Jewett petitioner.

From MR. HAROLD C. HOLMES—Diary of C. P. W. Bates [Berkeley] dentist of the '80's] of a voyage to San Francisco in 1873 and kept intermittently through 1881, partly in Portugese; Eben. A. Knowlton's Common Place Book for Poetry, Lynn High School 1849.

From MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—An unsigned manuscript letter from San Francisco, dated March 30, 1879, written on illustrated letter sheet.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. EVELYN CURRO—Two of her prints, California Street Cable-Car, and Powell Street Cable-Car.

From MRS. WILLIAM J. GILMAN—Two photographs of Mr. G. K. Fitch.

From MR. JOHN M. GREGORY—Photograph: "Old Mill" Middle Fork American River near Auburn, 1949.

From MRS. REGINALD HAMLIN—Two photographs of Norman Scott Hamlin, M.D. and his wife.

From MR. G. TOM KING—Four photographs: View of San Francisco, Carmel Mission 1899, Interior San Miguel Mission, San Gabriel Mission.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER—Two photographs: Old Gabriel, and Miss Kate Castleton.

From MRS. J. P. RETTENMAYER—Two photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Smith Hallidie.

From THE SANTA FE RAILWAY SYSTEM—*The Santa Fe Trail*, pictographic map issued by The American Pioneer Trail Association, 1946.

From MRS. MARGARET E. SCHLICHTMANN—Photograph of ten surviving '49ers. [n.d.]

From MR. HERBERT L. SMITH—Photograph of Bodie ca.1880; Photostatic copy of view of Bodie from 1864 to 1876 from a sketch made by J. Ross Browne, in 1864; Photostatic copy of map of Bodie, n.d.

From MR. JOS. A. SULLIVAN—Six lithographic reproductions of the following: San Francisco, 1849; Map of the Mediterranean Sea; Sacramento City, 1850; Map of Mokelumne River Project, Oct. 2, 1924; Mitchell Map of Texas, Oregon, and California, 1846; Colton Map of the United States and Mexico, 1849.

From MRS. WARNER LEWIS TABB—Ten early photographs of Santa Cruz: Natural Bridge, Ingersolls Cathedral, Big Trees, Beach and Beach Hill, Camp Capitola, The Cathedral, Mission Street, Sisters of Charity, Court House, and view of Santa Cruz.

From UNION TITLE INSURANCE AND TRUST COMPANY—Its: Map of the Ranchos of San Diego County with Historic Routes and Points of Interest, c1947.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MISS LAURA P. BLANK—A newspaper clipping from the *Missouri Republican* for August 20, 1856 containing the statement of James R. Maloney concerning the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance 1856.

From MR. HAROLD J. BRADY—Ten badges of the San Francisco Fire Department; Mercantile Fire Dispatch Co., Admit bearer June 30, 1911, Admit bearer July 1, 1912 to June 30, 1913, Assistant Engineer, Hydrant Inspector, Hydrantman, Numbers 20 and 470, Press pass and Veteran Firemen's Association, New York, badge presented to James Riley.

From MR. THOMAS F. DONOHUE—An invitation to a Birthday Party at the Hall of the Assembly on February 4, 1851 issued to Sen. Thomas J. Breen and printed on silk.

From MR. ALFRED I. ESBERG—One steel cabinet fitted with shelves for storage.

From MRS. REGINALD HAMLIN—Insignia and medal presented to Norman Scott Hamlin, M.D., for valorous labor as surgeon in the Battle of Shiloh.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—Borton, Francis S. "El Camino Real," from Guatemala to California 18th. Cent. [n.p., n.d.]; Several Gold Rush Centennial Programs; Three scrapbooks of copies of all contemporary newspaper references to Lola Montez.

From MISS VIRGINIA JAMESON—Necklace made from watch chain owned and worn by Rachel Jameson Driver of Fiddletown.

From MR. HERBERT L. SMITH—Three photostatic copies of drawings of California bridges; Twelve photographs and negatives: Tombs and monuments of Hobart Family, James C. Fair, Alvinza Hayward, James C. Flood, E. J. Baldwin, Charles T. Crocker; Residences of James C. Flood Jr., James C. Flood, D. O. Mills, Ralston's Estate at Belmont.

From MRS. HELEN MARYE THOMAS—Full dress uniform of Ambassador George Thomas Marye; Photographic portrait of Ambassador Marye in uniform.

From WASHINGTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL ASSOCIATION—A cast metal ventilator bearing the date 1861 which was part of the old Washington Grammar School, built at Washington and Mason streets in 1861.

From MR. FREDERICK WUERCH—A collection of 23 historical and theatrical programs of events held in San Francisco.

Meetings

On May 12,1949, the Honorable Joseph R. Knowland spoke before the Society on "Historic Columbia and the California Centennials." Not since June 14, 1945, when he described the progress made up to that time in Columbia's centennial status, have the members and their guests had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Knowland in his capacity, to mention only one, as chairman of the California State Park Commission.

The idea of preserving Columbia, the speaker said, had been in prospect officially since January 23, 1936, when the legislature allocated $15,000 for the purpose of acquiring property at Columbia. On February 17, 1937, the State Park Commission rendered a report, accompanied by a map of the town and an appraisal by Thomas T. Kent, together with data obtained from research by H. E. Rensch who was then supervising the project. Those interested tried, without success, to raise $25,000; but enthusiasm, stimulated by the approaching centennials, was growing, with the result that in 1945 the legislature passed a bill designating Columbia as a state park. (See Elizabeth Gray Potter, "Columbia . . ." in the QUARTERLY for Sept. 1945, pp. 267-70; and the speaker's own tribute to the generous efforts of William Cavalier, former president of this Society, *ibid.*, pp. 374-75.)

The legislation of 1945 was followed by actual acquisitions—in many instances only after prolonged negotiations. As far as possible, condemnation of property has been avoided. Where titles are difficult to obtain, easements are secured which prevent modernization or other changes in the buildings, without permission from the State Park Commission. Up to date, eighty-five per cent of the property, Mr. Knowland said, has been acquired, and, to safeguard the city's borders, the commission has also enlarged the boundaries of Unit One. An advisory committee, called the Columbia Historic Park Association, was incorporated on December 24, 1945, to work with the State Park Commission and the town's own citizens. Special investigations have likewise been in progress under the supervision of Dr. Aubrey Neasham, historian of the National Park Service, and Frederick Law Olmsted, a noted planning expert.

One of the problems facing Columbia, said the speaker, has been provision for fire protection. After much negotiation, the existing water system, which had become obsolete, was taken over and arrangements were concluded whereby connection could be made with the ample source from which the Pacific Gas and Electric Company supplies Sonora. Old springs will also be utilized; a chlorinization system is already in operation. In other words, water is plentiful but new piping will have to be installed, eventually, as many of the old pipes will not stand the increased pressures. As for storage, purchase has been made of the old brewery site. This will provide an elevation on which a 126,000-gallon tank and a reservoir capable of storing an additional 200,000 will be erected. Maturing of these plans, the two new fire engines that have already been added to the town's equipment, and the clearing away of dry grass, will reduce the fire hazard. Moreover, there is a forestry fire department within easy distance of Columbia. In closing, Mr. Knowland said: "California, I am happy to report, is making progress at Columbia, thanks to Governor Warren, to the legislation proposed by Senator Jesse Mayo and passed by the state's law-making body, and the sincere efforts of the California State Park Commission to carry out the program."

Dr. Charles L. Camp, professor of paleontology and director of the department's museum at the University of California—director also of this Society from 1923 through 1933 and successor of Henry R. Wagner as chairman of its publications committee—spoke at the luncheon meeting on June 9th on "Gold Days in California, Australia, and South Africa."*

In 1948, California celebrated the first centennial of the discovery of gold in her river gravels; in 1951, New South Wales will have her celebration of the finds in like diggings; and in 1986, there will be exercises in honor of the discovery of gold in beds of conglomerate known as the "banket" formation, north of the Vaal River near Johannesburg, which surpass all the world's known deposits in richness. But Professor Camp went back—way back, as a paleontologist would—to the *Book of Job* (XXVIII, v. 6) where, as a simple fact and aloof from any frantic quest, the stones of the earth are said to be "the place of sapphires: and it hath dust of gold."

In the background of our institutions and way of living is this "dust of gold," which acts, the speaker said, even in primitive communities, as an enzyme in the body politic, stimulating and preserving activity. A psychology is attached to it. Professor Camp told of his own family's experiences, on Greenhorn Mountain in Kern County, up 6000 feet in elevation, while his father went down a 400-ft. shaft, hunting for gold. Snow, sour dough, and dried codfish were endured in deference to a mere prospect. Prospecting is, in fact, a thing amateurs take up. James Marshall was an amateur and so was Edward Hammond Hargraves (1816-91) who, having been in California, recognized the same type of gold-bearing terrain near Bathurst in New South Wales, though professional geologists had failed to find it. Marshall, discouraged, abandoned mining for horticulture; but Hargraves, making no fortune himself, continued with the industry and became commissioner of mines (and author of *Australia and Its Gold Fields . . . to which are added notices on the use and working of gold*, London, 1855).

The early Californian and Australian gold discoveries were made in surface placers under the hot sun or in broken river-ice. In South Africa it was

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*Professor Camp's report on the fossils, and ethnic and other data, gathered by the southern section of the state university's expedition to Africa in 1947-48, may be read in *Science*, Nov. 19, 1948, pp. 550-52.

found in what the speaker called a gigantic, cemented, subterranean placer, great in depth and antiquity and underlying all known fossils. He told how this discovery was tied in with Cecil Rhodes' plans to promote British interests north of the twenty-second parallel. About this time (it was patented in 1890), came the discovery of the cyanide process, whereby gold is dissolved in potassium cyanide solution and then precipitated, a process which was especially successful in the Rand area of the Transvaal. Now, centered at Odendaals Rust, in an extension of the same subterranean placer south of the Vaal, the cry of gold is ringing again, in what is considered to be the greatest of all discoveries. Again, great dumps will be added to the line already extending across the world's horizon of gold-rush sites; again will be re-enacted the scourge of dust, and the cost of living will answer to the spur of lessened production in other lines. Problems and agitations come in their turn: already the economist is asking, what shall the price of gold be per ounce? Meanwhile a question of Job's, older, as a symbol, than the Rand's conglomerate, remains: "But where shall wisdom be found and where is the place of understanding? . . . It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir . . . or the sapphire . . . for the price of wisdom is above rubies."

In Memoriam

Ray Lyman Wilbur

Ray Lyman Wilbur, physician, university president, government official, and public man, known for thirty years as a leader among physicians, scholars, statesmen, and humanitarians throughout the United States, died at his home on the Stanford University campus on June 26, 1949. As Herbert Hoover said of him, in commenting on his death, "America is a better place for his having lived in it." This was a full life, packed with activities that grew with the years and kept him occupied until the day of his death.

He was an American, of American stock, and very proud of the fact. Born in Boonesboro, Iowa, April 13, 1875, the son of Dwight Locke and Edna Maria (Lyman) Wilbur, Ray Lyman Wilbur spent his boyhood in Iowa, in the Dakota Territory, and in southern California. At seventeen he graduated from the Riverside high school. From the outset he was interested in the history of his country, in particular that of the westward movement in which he and his family had participated. California history in its many phases held his attention. Of many aspects of that history since 1900 his own activities were an important part. His recollections of the last half century were packed with information, insight, and salty anecdote.

A graduate of Stanford in the class of 1896, with an M.D. from Cooper Medical College, San Francisco, in 1899, he went to Europe for special study in medicine at Frankfort-on-Main and London in 1903-4, and at the University of Munich, 1909-10. Except for these years and the intervening period when he was a practising physician in Palto Alto, Dr. Wilbur was officially associated with Stanford University throughout the remainder of his life. As president from 1916 to 1943, he built a great university.

His acquaintance among public men was wide. A crusader in social hygiene and in physical and social medicine, he was president of the California Academy of Medicine, 1917-18; president of the American Medical Association, 1923-24; president of the Association of American Medical Colleges, 1924; president of the California Society for Promotion of Medical Research, 1915-38; president of the California state conference of social agencies, 1919; vice-president of the San Francisco community chest, 1927-29; chairman of the committee on costs of medical care, 1927-32; chairman of the White House conference on child health and protection, 1929-31; president, California Physicians Service, 1939-45; president, American Social Hygiene Association, 1936-48; chairman of the Baruch committee on physical medicine, 1943-49.

He was a keen judge of character and unerring in his detection of pretense and sham in the past as well as the present. He held decided views and had little hesitancy in expressing them. Wide reading was characteristic of his busiest years as administrator and public official. This gave his speeches and his public statements in form, as well as in substance, a far reaching appeal seldom accorded the utterances of public men on medicine, public health, liberal education, and international relations.

As secretary of the interior in the cabinet of President Hoover, 1929-1933, Wilbur was given further opportunity to express the interest in conservation which he had brought to his work as chief of the conservation division of the United States Food Administration in 1917, in association with his lifelong friend, Herbert Hoover. The final service in this friendship was given by Dr. Wilbur on the medical services committee of the commission on organization of the executive branch of the government in 1948. As secretary of the interior, Wilbur gave particular attention to the problem of the American Indian as citizen and self-supporting American. He once said that he was convinced that to leave the Indian tied to the reservation for an indefinite period meant disaster. Characteristic was his interest in the migratory bird conservation commission and timber conservation board.

Part of the record of his four years of government service may be found in the *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Interior* for each year from 1929 to 1932, in *Hoover Dam Documents* (with Northcutt Ely, rev. ed., 1948), *Construction of Hoover Dam* (with Elwood Mead, 1933), *Conservation* (with W. A. DuPuy, 1931), and *Hoover Policies* (with Arthur M. Hyde, 1937). These volumes include the source materials for important chapters in both California history and the history of the nation.

Deeply concerned with the role of the United States among the nations, Dr. Wilbur was chairman of the executive committee, survey of race relations on the Pacific coast, 1922-24; chairman, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1925-29, and of the Honolulu conferences of the institute in 1925 and 1927; chairman of the American council of the institute, 1941; chairman of the executive committee of the San Francisco Bay region division of the same institute, 1936-48; and chairman of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948-49.

In 1898 he married Marguerite May Blake, who died on December 24, 1946. Dr. Wilbur and Mrs. Wilbur were devoted to the family that grew up about them. All children survive: Mrs. Jessica Ely, Blake Colburn, Dwight Locke, Mrs. Lois Proctor Hopper, Ray Lyman. There are twenty-two grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. The provisions of Dr. Wilbur's will reflect clearly his devotion to family, to education, and to the abiding beliefs that make for an enduring society.

He was a deeply patriotic man. He had interest in every part of the United States and in all kinds of people. He drew from his European experiences as a scholar many a conclusion of importance on European affairs, and his later travel gave him added interest in the Far East and in Latin America. San Franciscans knew him for his public service in innumerable organizations.

Palo Alto residents knew him as practising physician and neighbor. Stanford men and women have known him as student, teacher, dean, president, and chancellor. All have known him as a friend who played a great part in present day America.

Ray Lyman Wilbur not only loved America and was proud of its history, but was deeply concerned about its future. This "Man Thinking" has left a great legacy. Some of it may be used by succeeding generations who will find it in three books: *Stanford Horizons* (1936), *The March of Medicine* (1938), and *Human Hopes* (1944). The promised *Autobiography*, when it appears, will tell us more.

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

GEORGE DUNLAP LYMAN

George Lyman, son of Dean Briggs and Anna Louisa (Dunlap) Lyman, was born on December 12, 1882, in Virginia City, Nevada, where his father was superintendent of the celebrated "Consolidated Virginia" mine. After studying at the University of Nevada and at Stanford University (class of 1905), he went to Columbia University which granted him his medical degree in 1909. Thereafter, for a year, he served as intern at Bellevue Hospital, New York. From 1912-1913, Dr. Lyman studied pediatrics at Munich, Vienna, and Berlin, and, upon coming to San Francisco twenty-five years ago, he took his place as one of the city's foremost pediatricians. He died on July 26, 1949.

Dr. Lyman was greatly interested in the historical literature of the West, particularly concerning California and Nevada, and had one of the finest and largest private collections in this state. As a writer of note, himself, he added to that literature through authorship of several successful books, among them *John Marsh, Pioneer*, *The Saga of the Comstock Lode*, and *Ralston's Ring;* each was reviewed as follows:

> To every phase of Dr. Marsh's variegated and picturesque career, the author has given devoted research, and has presented the results in a well-proportioned, well-documented, and very readable volume. It is a striking career that he has unveiled, and a still more striking character—full of faults but full also of strength and energy.
>
> (Allan Nevins, in *Saturday Review of Literature*, Oct. 11, 1930)

> There is no question about the *Saga's* soundness as history. Well documented and backed by thorough research, it is not only a robustly dramatic piece of writing but a valid and worthy contribution to the greater saga of which it is a part, the almost fabulous chronicle of the building of the West.
>
> (Joseph Henry Jackson, in *Booklist*, June 1934)

> Dr. Lyman is the one man to write the account of a fascinating and fabulous era that is now history. He has done his work carefully and well. It is a great story and loses nothing in the telling.
>
> (F. S. Ambrose, in *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 6, 1937)

He took an active share in the work of the California Historical Society. For two years (1943 and 1944), during the last war, he was its president, and from 1926 until 1945 served on the board of directors. *A Doctor Comes to California* (the diary of John S. Griffin, assistant surgeon with Kearny's dragoons), for which Lyman wrote the introduction and compiled the notes, was made into a special publication of the Society in 1943.

John Howell

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Sustaining	
Dwight Murphy	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Melville C. Threlkeld, Jr.	San Francisco	Continuing membership of his mother
	Active	
Titus Alexander	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
E. Geoffrey Bangs	San Francisco	Henry Collins and Aubrey Drury
Frank H. Bartholomew	Sonoma	Mrs. L. H. Tryon
Mrs. Nelda Oakes Beacock	Hayward	Joseph R. Knowland
Miss Augusta A. Bloomer	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. A. F. Moore Bowden	Mallorca, Spain	Warren R. Howell
Harry J. Breen	Hollister	Resuming membership
Lt. Comdr. George H. Cabaniss, Jr.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Cecil Corwin, D.D.S.	Hayward	Membership Committee
Mrs. Arthur D. Curtner	San Jose	Will B. Weston
Mrs. Charles de Y. Elkus, Jr.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Elliott A. P. Evans	Santa Barbara	Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand
Fresno State College Library	Fresno	Membership Committee
Harold S. Gladwin	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Mrs. H. L. Halloran	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Kenneth C. Hinrichsen	Berkeley	Honor Award—University of California
Mrs. Arthur E. Hutchinson	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Kirk B. Johnson	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Vernon Knight	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. William Latham	San Francisco	Mrs. A. J. Bancroft
Latin American Village	El Monte	Membership Committee
John Lawlor	San Francisco	Robert D. Haines
J. Gregg Layne	West Los Angeles	Resuming membership
Michel Litven	Oakland	Membership Committee
Harry C. Mabry	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Marysville City Library	Marysville	Membership Committee
Lucio M. Mintzer	Palo Alto	Miss Else Schilling
David F. Myrick	Berkeley	Joseph Henry Jackson
Mrs. Emma Oakes	Hayward	Joseph R. Knowland
Mrs. J. C. Oehler	Dallas, Texas	Henry R. Wagner
Ohio State University Library	Columbus, Ohio	Membership Committee
Carl A. Phleger	Ventura	Membership Committee
Willard S. Poage	Richmond	Anson S. Blake
Kenneth Pratt	Los Altos	Honor Award—Stanford University
Russell Wilson Pratt	San Francisco	Mrs. G. L. Cadwalader
Mrs. J. P. Rettenmayer	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
I. S. Rogers	Piercy	Warren R. Howell
Col. Waddell F. Smith	Hamilton Field	Mrs. Rogers Parratt

Name	Address	Proposed by
Willard W. Smith	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Wyland Stanley	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. George T. Stevens	Chicago	Membership Committee
Edson G. Thomas	Salinas	Porter Sesnon and Milton D. Eisner
Mrs. Sydney Van Wyck	San Francisco	Mrs. Franklin Hittell
Fredrick S. Waiss	San Francisco	Mrs. G. D. de Balaine
Alvin C. Weingand	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Dean Albertson (A.B., 1942) was the first graduate student at the University of California to hold the California Historical Society's honor award in history, as provided for by friends of the Society in 1946. Since then he has been at Columbia University studying under Prof. Allan Nevins. (See the Society's NOTES for Feb. 1949.)

Miss Nancy Anderson was well under way in editing the letters of Captain Alden (as announced in the March 1949 QUARTERLY, pp. 92-93), when new work, assigned to her on the *Sunset Magazine*, prevented her from completing it. The editors therefore substituted for her in preparing the final copy of the Captain's letters.

Dr. J. N. Bowman's preceding article on his work in the state archives may be found in the June 1949 QUARTERLY, pp. 143-50.

Mrs. Doris Foley, who collaborated with Professor Morley in the article on the English Dam flood, has been prominent in the excellent work being done by the Nevada County Historical Society in Nevada City, California. She was president in 1948 and is now vice-president and chairman of their museum committee.

S. Griswold Morley is a native of Massachusetts (1878). He was granted his Ph.D. degree at Harvard in 1902, and has taught there, at the University of Colorado, University of New Mexico (professor of modern languages), and at the University of California from 1914 until his recent retirement as emeritus professor of Spanish. Dr. Morley's published works include translations, articles and text books. In 1938, the first edition of his *The Covered Bridges of California* was issued by the University of California Press.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

In the QUARTERLY of March 1945 (pp. 61, 62, 72), Mrs. Beacock's paternal grandfather, "Tony" Oakes, is spoken of admiringly by Maj. Edwin A. Sherman in his recollections. The Oakes children are said to "publish the Hayward *Journal*, which is well edited and deserves success." See below under Mrs. Emma Oakes.

Miss Augusta A. Bloomer remembers vividly her grandfather, Joseph F. Atwill (b. Boston, 1811; d. Oakland, 1891), to whom Soulé *et al*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), devote a section, pp. 781-83, among their biographical sketches, mentioning particularly his contributions to the artistic life of San Francisco, and, as president of the board of aldermen (elected in 1854) to its orderly government. See also George R. MacMinn, *The Theatre of the Golden Age* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1941), pp. 376-77, quoting a contemporary remark about Atwill's music store which was said to be "armed to the teeth with pianos, accordions, guitars...." The firm of Sherman & Clay, Miss Bloomer says, is a direct descendant of Atwill's store. Her father, John G. Bloomer (husband of Atwill's fourth daughter, E. Augusta) was employed in the San Francisco office of the Central Pacific Division of the Atlantic & Pacific Telegraph Co. in 1876 and made out telegrams on behalf of "Emperor" Norton to various European rulers—which, knowing the circumstances surrounding Norton, Mr. Bloomer refrained from despatching. He was the author of *Bloomer's Commercial Cryptograph, a telegraphic code* ... (San Francisco, 1874); *Bloomer's International Cryptograph* ..., an improved and revised edition of the preceding (San Francisco, 1884); and *The Pacific Cryptograph, a complete double index cipher for telegraphing* (San Francisco, 1872), of which there were three editions.

Born in Kentucky of American revolutionary officers' stock, Harry Cooper Mabry, attorney-at-law, graduated from the Yale law school in 1923; whereupon he came to Los Angeles and has continued to live there and practice his profession. Some of Mr. Mabry's cases have been concerned with Boulder Dam and with water development in the Mono basin. Aside from his personal professional work, he has been active in the interest of national and local bar associations and of Yale graduate organizations. During 1933-38, Mr. Mabry was a member of the board of governors of the Yale Publishing Association. He has also, himself, written on the subject of the development of the water and power resources of Los Angeles, and on Americanism as exemplified by Will Rogers. Mr. Mabry's brother is the Hon. Thomas J. Mabry, governor of New Mexico.

David F. Myrick, a native of Santa Barbara, is a graduate of the Babson Institute, Wellesley, Massachusetts. From September 1940 to August 1944, he was employed by Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp., in San Diego, but he is now attached to the general offices of the Southern Pacific Co. in San Francisco. This work gives Mr. Myrick a chance to broaden a youthful enthusiasm for railroads, begun in boarding-school days in Colorado Springs, into a livelihood; it also acts as a spring-board for studying the history of California and its development.

Mrs. Emma Oakes, widow and former able journalist associate of her husband, George Anthony Oakes, is one of the "children" [-in-law, in her case] referred to above in the note on Mrs. Beacock. The Oakes made notable contributions to early newspaper activity in central California and were the good friends of contemporary literary figures.

Readers of the March 1945 QUARTERLY, mentioned above in these notes, will be interested to know that the Society's new member, Irving S. Rogers, is a great-grandson of Caleb Greenwood, whose attempt to persuade the Donner party to take the Fort Hall road to California instead of the Hastings' cutoff is there noted by P. M. Weddell (pp. 73, 76) in his "Location of the Donner Family Camp."

Andrew F. Rolle, a graduate of Occidental College, is a reader at the Huntington Library and a teaching assistant in history at the University of California at Los Angeles. His career so far has included wartime duties in the Pacific, with special assignments having to do with military intelligence; and American vice-consul at Genoa, Italy, in 1946, where he did political and economic reporting—an intensely live episode, furnishing material for his Ph.D. thesis.

Col. Waddell F. Smith, retired, was born in Kansas City in 1899 and was educated at its law school (now a part of Kansas City University). But his interests turned to life insurance, especially as it affects aircraft pilots; and, as this was a new field of business, Colonel Smith's duties included a great deal of flying over this country and the Pacific islands, well before Pearl Harbor. The February preceding that event, he was ordered to active duty as a reserve officer at air force headquarters. Since then he has flown extensively, with a round-the-world flight on one occasion. His retirement became effective in November 1946, because of physical disability. Colonel Smith's maternal great-grandfather was William Bradford Waddell, associated with William Russell and A. H. Majors, founders, owners and operators of the Pony Express. His mother, Bettie, daughter of John Waddell, was born in Lexington, Missouri, where were situated the headquarters of the company.

Alvin Carl Weingand, from North Platte, Nebraska, is a graduate of the University of California (1926) and a lieutenant commander in the U. S. naval reserve. With Mr. Ronald Colman, he owns San Ysidro Ranch, Santa Barbara, purchased in 1935 from the family of the former owner, Harleigh Johnston. Mr. Weingand is, himself, the ranch's manager. He is also president of the Montecito Protective and Improvement Association—from its title, a fighting but balanced organization, which gives him an opportunity to implement his personal predilection for unhurried living and to expose fallacious ideas about what constitutes "progress."

Correspondence: Richard H. Dillon, author of "Costs of the Modoc War" in the June 1949 QUARTERLY, writes us that in line 2 from the foot of page 162, the number of Modoc Indians captured in the lava beds should be 159 instead of 27.

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President of the California Medical Association, 1929-30.
See "In Memoriam" in this issue of the Quarterly.

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Timothy Dwight Hunt and His Wedding Records

By Clifford M. Drury

On October 29, 1848, the Rev. Timothy Dwight Hunt, a New School Presbyterian minister, arrived in San Francisco. He was the first Protestant clergyman to settle in California who gave his full time to religious work. Previous to his coming, there were at least three other Protestant ministers in California.[1] The Rev. Walter Colton, a navy chaplain and a Congregational clergyman, was serving as alcalde at Monterey. Another Congregationalist, the Rev. Chester Lyman, was engaged in surveying; he is known to have had some physical disability which prevented him from carrying on the work of a minister. The third clergyman, an Episcopalian, was the Rev. T. M. Leavenworth, who had arrived in San Francisco in the spring of 1847, as chaplain of Col. J. D. Stevenson's regiment. Leavenworth was also a physician, and after severing his connection with the regiment shortly after his arrival, he resumed his practice. In August 1848, he was elected alcalde of San Francisco.[2]

Timothy Dwight Hunt was born at Rochester, N. Y., on March 10, 1821, and was named after the famous Timothy Dwight of Yale. As might be expected, with such a name, Hunt attended Yale and was graduated with the class of 1840. He then went to Auburn Theological Seminary and completed his three-year course there in 1843. On November first of that year he married Miss Mary Hedges.[3] Having been ordained by the Presbytery of Genesee in 1843, Dwight (as he preferred to be called by his friends) Hunt and his wife sailed on December fourth for Hawaii as missionaries. The sea voyage took more than seven months and they did not arrive until July 1844.[4]

After four years, Hunt severed his connection with the mission and began his ministry with a group of interested American citizens in Honolulu. His work was just opening up in a promising way when the news of the discovery of gold in California reached Hawaii. Hunt noted in his journal that at once "the work of depopulation" commenced. He wrote that the first to leave were "the scum of society." However, with further news about the richness of the gold fields, the excitement "began to work up into the higher classes, breaking up the foundations of mechanical and mercantile operations." The result was soon disastrous to Hunt's cherished plans for a strong church for white people in Honolulu. Since most of his congregation had left for California, Hunt decided to follow.

After making provision for his wife and two little children, Hunt boarded the *Honolulu* on October 10, 1848, for California. The vessel anchored at Sausalito on Saturday, October twenty-eighth, and moved the next day across the bay to Yerba Buena (re-named San Francisco in the spring of 1847). In deference to Sunday, Hunt did not go ashore that day. He was informed that news of his coming had preceded him, and that a group of interested citizens would give him a warm welcome. On Monday, October thirtieth, he secured quarters in the home of a merchant, C. L. Ross, who was a devout Baptist; and within the next twenty-four hours Hunt was called upon to officiate at the funeral of a Mr. Macdonald, "a merchant of this place." Thereafter, his services at funerals were often requested four or five times a week.

A meeting of all interested citizens was called for the evening of Wednesday, November first, at the schoolhouse on Portsmouth Square. Hunt was given a copy of the minutes of the meeting which he copied into his journal. They read as follows:

> A meeting of the subscribers to the fund for the maintenance of a Chaplain at San Francisco was held on Wed. eve. Nov. 1st 1848 at the Public Institute.
>
> Edwd H. Harrison, Esq. was appointed Chairman & Saml Creighton, Esq. Secretary.
>
> The meeting was addressed by Messrs Ross & Gillespie, who stated the object of the meeting. After other remarks pertinent to the occasion, & complimentary to the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt recently arrived from Honolulu, the meeting proceeded to elect Trustees, viz:
>
> C. E. Wetmore Joseph Bowden C. L. Ross
> C. V. Gillespie E. H. Harrison
>
> E. H. Harrison, Esq. was then appointed Treasurer.
>
> A vote of thanks was tendered to W. F. Swasey, Esq. for the present of a very handsome & richly finished Bible intended for the Chaplaincy.
>
> Twenty five hundred (2500) dollars were then appropriated as the salary of the Chaplain for one year from this date (Nov. 1st) & a resolution passed that, the balance of the funds be retained for incidental expenses.
>
> It was moved and seconded That the office of Chaplain to the citizens of San Francisco be tendered to the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt for one year. (Carried)
>
> Moved & seconded That the religious exercises on the Sab. be conducted at the Public Institute, Portsmouth Square, & that the Trustees be hereby requested to arrange with the school Commissioners for the use of the Hall.—(Carried)
>
> Moved & seconded that the meeting adjourn.
>
> Sml Creighton, Sec'y. E. H. Harrison, Chairman

The idea of ministering to the Protestants of San Francisco on an interdenominational rather than a denominational basis appealed to Hunt. He held his first service in the schoolhouse on Sunday, November 5, 1848. Eighty-seven men and three women made up his first audience. On Sunday, January 7, 1849, Hunt conducted what he claimed in his journal to have been the first Protestant communion service in San Francisco. In all probability this was the first such service held in California.

Other Protestant ministers began to arrive early in 1849. The first was a Methodist pastor from Oregon, the Rev. C. O. Hosford, at whose marriage Hunt officiated (see No. 3). The couple left soon afterward for Oregon. The arrival of the *SS. California*, the latter part of February, brought three Presbyterian missionaries and one Baptist to California.[5] Others arrived in the months following. Writing in his journal on February 25, 1849, Hunt commented:

> My heart has this day been made glad with the tidings of two missionaries of the A.H.M.S. [American Home Missionary Society] in the steamer "California." I will give them cordially the hand of fellowship & a warm welcome. But we have no churches. There is as yet no church organization in the whole country, except the Catholic.[6]

With the coming of missionaries sent by the different mission boards, it was inevitable that denominational churches should be established. Hunt was cordial to these incoming missionaries and often invited them to speak to his congregation in the schoolhouse. One by one the denominational churches were organized, each drawing from the participants in Hunt's congregation. The first to be officially organized in San Francisco, with a resident and fully ordained pastor, was the First Presbyterian Church. This was formed under the leadership of the Rev. Albert Williams on May 20, 1849. On July sixth, a Baptist Church was organized by the Rev. O. C. Wheeler; and on the twenty-second of that month, the Rev. F. S. Mines founded the Protestant Episcopal parish of Holy Trinity. The Rev. William Roberts, Methodist superintendent for Oregon and California, visited San Francisco and other places in California in June and July, and on September 22, 1849, the Rev. William Taylor arrived in the city to take charge of this work. With his congregation thus breaking up into denominational groups, Hunt decided that it was best to complete a similar organization. Accordingly, on July 29, 1849, he formed the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, although he himself retained his Presbyterian connections throughout the rest of his ministry.

The New School branch of the Presbyterian Church was the first denomination to complete an all-state organization by the setting up of the Presbytery of San Francisco at Monterey on September 21, 1849, with Hunt as moderator. When the two branches of the Presbyterian Church joined in 1870, the name of this presbytery was taken by the ministers and churches in San Francisco.

Hunt kept a wedding record, which listed the seventy-nine services he performed in San Francisco during 1849-1856. The names of the parties, with the fees received from them, follow. In making the transcription, consecutive numbering of the entries has been inserted for purposes of reference; and, to conserve space, display of the contracting parties' names on separate lines, as in the original, has been omitted; also omitted, is the word "Mr." before each bridegroom's name, in conformity with Hunt's own usage in his first two entries. The letter "P.," accompanied by a date and enclosed in brackets, signifies membership of the bridegroom in the Society of California Pioneers and the date of his arrival in California (data from *Centennial Roster*, Walter C. Allen, ed., San Francisco, May 1, 1948).

1849

1. Jan. 9, San Francisco, Tues. eve. Robert S. S. Wood to Frances E. Merril. Fee $20.
2. Jan. 14, San Francisco, Sab. eve. Robert F. Peckham to Ann Elisabeth Smith. Fee $10. [P., Aug. 30, 1846]
3. March 14. Rev. C. O. Hosford (of Oregon Methodist) to Miss Aseneth Glover. Fee $0.00.
4. May 30, in a tent at San Francisco. Christopher Layton to Miss Martha Otterson. Fee $10–& for certificate (in gold dust) $16.
5. June 9, San Francisco. John Bigle[y?] to Miss Caroline Smith. Fee $19. The man who said "What's the Language."
6. June 23, San Francisco. Isaac Thompson (Col'd) to Miss Petronila. Fee $16.
7. June 26, San Francisco. Alfred Augustus Green to Miss Dolores Leyorcita. Fee $16. [P., Mar. 7, 1847]
8. July 9, at Happy Valley, San Francisco. W. D. M. Howard to Miss Agnes Poett. Fee $50. [P., Jan. 1, 1839]
9. Aug. 5, at Mr. Hatter's house. William Fuller to Miss Ellen Canfield. Fee $16.

[At this point, the Rev. Mr. Hunt strikes a total of fees received to the amount of $173.]

10. Oct. 21, on board a Brig Arabian. Mr. Higgins to Mrs. Lathrop. Fee $15.

1850

11. March 19. David Earle to Miss Mary Louise Rowland. Fee $16.
12. March 21. John Sturreneger [John Sturzenneger?] to Miss Rosina Zopfe. Fee $15.
13. April 20. Jacob Addis to Miss Julia Green. Nothing but a promise.
14. May 22. Henry Smith to Miss Emily Alexander. Fee $16. [P., Sept. 17, 1849]
15. June 22. Okina to Hana–both Hawaiians. Fee $12.
16. July 3. Joseph Shannon Woodville to Miss Ann Goldfellen. Fee $16.
17. July 31. John (Col'd) to Miss (Chilen). Fee $5.
18. Oct. 11. James Oswall to Miss Rosale Karabahal. Fee $10.
19. Oct. 28. Whitney to Miss Emma Jane Merrill. Fee $10.

1851

20. June 26. Robert Classon to Miss Eva Schneider. Fee $20.
21. July 2. Stephen Davis to Miss Elizabeth Stace. Fee $10.
22. July 11. John Boyd to Miss Anne Dean. Fee $5.
23. Aug. 23. Edwin Spicer to Miss Mary Ann Burke. Fee $10.
24. Aug. 27. Henry A. Freer to Mrs. Mary A. Tolle. Fee $20.

25. Sept. 2. Charles H. Haydon to Miss Eliza Holmes. Fee $20.
26. Sept. 3. Henry A. Shaw to Miss Margaret McGrath. Fee $10.
27. Sept. 12. Wm. W. Neil to Miss Sophia Louderback. Fee $16.
28. Sept. 17, on board of the "Flying Cloud." Reuben P. Bryce of Portland, O. T., to Miss Ellen F. Lyon of Boston. Fee $16.
29. Oct. 12. James Price to Miss Mary Anne Duffie (Col'd). Fee $5.
30. Oct. 15. James Williams to Miss Harriet Lewis. Fee $10. [Man of same name, P., Oct. 1843, and brother of Isaac, was married by T. O. Larkin to Mary Patterson in Aug. 1845, according to Bancroft's Pioneer Register.]
31. Nov. 26, aftn. John Roach to Miss Ann Mackay. Fee $20.

1852

32. March 1, at church in the eve. John C. Forey to Miss Annie Bartlett. Fee $20.
33. March 10. Wm. B. May to Mrs. Mary E. Inskeep. Fee $20.
34. June 13. Capt. Wm. Berrill to Miss Maria Lucas. Fee $10.
35. Sept. 13. Abraham W. Harris to Miss Hannah Bucknell. Fee $16.
36. Nov. 17. Chas. R. Story to Miss Caroline P. Bailey. Fee $50. [P., Sept. 17, 1849]
37. Dec. 4. Wm. B. Reeve to Miss Mary Ann McDonald. Fee $25.
38. Dec. 17. Francis Theodore Wetsel of Basel to Mrs. Frederika W. Amalia Merkel of Marburg, Hesse. Fee $20. [P., Aug. 18, 1849]

1853

39. Jan. 11. Theodore A. Barry to Miss Eliza M. Sharp. Fee $20.
40. May 26. James Marsh to Miss Mary A. Ranney. Fee $10.
41. June 23. John Roome Lewis to Miss Frances M. Fotheringhame. Fee $20.
42. June 27. Bernard Roenswig [Rozenswig?] to Miss Josephine Dyer. Fee $30.
43. July 3. Henry S. Warren to Maria L. Hamblin. Fee $10. [P., Sept. 1849]
44. Aug. 4. Edward A. Kent to Miss Abba Ward. Fee $20.
45. Sept. 8. Benedict Marti to Miss Anna Barbara Weber (both of Switzerland). Fee $20.
46. Oct. 15. James Brooks to Miss Oceana Fisher. Fee $25. [P., Oct. 9, 1849]
47. Oct. 18. John L. Haas to Miss Mary Reid. Fee $15.
48. Oct. 19. John Sime to Miss Mary L. Toland. Fee $50.
49. Oct. 24. Fred Leppien to Miss Elizabeth Deighton. Fee $24. [P., Dec. 15, 1849]
50. Dec. 1. Henrick Gerstung to Miss Hermine Bohmer. Fee $20.
51. Dec. 20. Stephen Henry Chase to Elizabeth P. Dunlap. Fee $16.

52. Dec. 22. Geo. Hudson, Esq. to Miss Elliott. Fee $20.
53. Dec. 24. Joseph Houston Kimmel to Miss Elizabeth Frances Haiwacott. Fee $10.

1854

54. Jan. 11. John L. Woolsey to Miss Rosa W. Meyer. Fee $50.
55. Feb. 17. Stephen Jamison to Miss Anna Smith. Fee $10.
56. March 4. Robert Von Carnap (Eberfeld of Germany) to Miss Rebecca Holle. Fee $20.
57. March 28. Chas. Edwd. Bingham to Miss Emily Thorne. Fee $20.
58. April 11. Fredk. George Merchant to Miss Theresa Leonora Perabeau. Fee $24. [P., Oct. 9, 1849]
59. April 12. Saml. C. Grove to Miss Fannie A. Allen. Fee $50.
60. April 13. Saml. Doty to Miss Frances McLean. Fee $20.
61. May 28. Richard Schmadcke to Miss Margaret Bell. Fee $20.
62. June 9. John Murray to Miss Susan Bain. Fee $15.
63. Aug. 31. Thomas J. A. Chambers to Miss Caroline Wilson. Fee $50. [P., Apr. 28, 1849]
64. Sept. 20. Robt. C. Page to Miss Delia F. Williams. Fee $25.
65. Oct. 17. Wm. S. Ladd to Miss Caroline A. Elliott. Fee $25.
66. Nov. 12. Rev. Fredk. Mooshake to Miss Rebecca Lein. Free.
67. Nov. 27. Leander Beauchamp to Miss Madora Sylve. Fee $10.
68. Dec. 24. Danl. V[an] B. Henarie to Mrs. Mary A. Hosley. Fee $20. [P., Dec. 1, 1849]
69. Dec. 25. Alfred L. Tubbs to Miss Elizabeth R. Chapin. Fee $50.

1855

70. Jan. 5. Wm. Steven to Miss Isabella Sinclair. Fee $10.
71. Jan. 9. John H. Brennen to Miss Ann Sharp. Fee $10.
72. May 5. Gottlieb Ludwig Gustave Ris [Reis?] to Miss Louisa Philippina Merkel. Fee $20. [If Gustave Reis, then P., Sept. 1, 1849]
73. Oct. 25. David Trembley to Miss Mary Matilda Kroh. Fee $20.
74. Dec. 29. Ed. T. Batturs to Miss Eliza Waters. Fee $30.

1856

75. March 6. Lorin Robertson to Miss Helen Carswell. Fee $25.
76. March 31. Warren B. Mead to Miss Sarah P. Sears. Fee $20. [P., Aug. 30, 1849]
77. May 11. Lewis T. Grant to Miss Mary E. Myrick. Fee $23.
78. July 1. Joseph N. H. Waters to Miss Mary Louisa Barker. Fee $20.
79. July 3. Benjamin R. Crocker to Mrs. Rosanna Martin. Fee $10.

There are a number of interesting names among these seventy-nine bridegrooms. W. D. M. Howard (No. 8) was one of the first of San Francisco's successful business men.[7] John Sime (No. 48) had, the year before his marriage, been elected to the California Assembly.[8] Charles Edward Bingham (No. 57) and his wife were both connected with the theater, he as manager of a theater on Clay Street in San Francisco, and she as an actress at the Tehama Theater in Sacramento, 1850-51.[9] William S. Ladd (No. 65) became one of the leading capitalists of Portland, Oregon.[10] The next wedding was that of the Rev. Frederick Mooshake, the first Lutheran pastor to engage in work for those of his faith in San Francisco.[11] Edward T. Batturs (No. 74) was elected tax collector of San Francisco in May 1855, some six months before his wedding.[12]

Hunt remained as pastor of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco until January 7, 1855. He then accepted a position as missionary under the American Home Missionary Society and spent two more years in California. His new work took him into the mining communities. On one of these trips he visited Sutter's Mill at Coloma. Under date of January 24, 1855, he wrote in his journal:

> . . . visited . . . the old *Sutter's Mill* in the digging of the race-way of which gold was discovered. The two posts in the race-way which were to support the gate still stand, between which the first *lump* (weighing about 8 ozs) was picked up. I went down & stood there & imagined myself in possession of the key which opened to the world this great treasury. The mill itself is in ruins, the frame exposed, & going rapidly to decay, a portion only of whose roof still remains & under which a few Chinese have found a shelter. Nearly all of the old building that was suitable for such a purpose has been taken away & converted into *canes*. What remains of the old structure should be more carefully preserved. Certainly the citizens of C. should not permit the Chinese to hasten ruin by cutting up its falling timbers for fire wood. It is the great *lion* of California & it should be in a measure kept sacred as a place of resort for all lovers of Cala antiquities. An iron enclosure should be made around the old spot where the first nugget was discovered, that long after the old timbers have gone to decay the very race-way & stones & sand where the gold was imbedded may be pointed out to the stranger and traveller.
>
> The man who made the discovery was a German. His widow still lives there, & has in her possession the *identical gold* first picked up. She has refused $1000. for it, & lives on the hope of some future sale for a much larger sum. It should be purchased by the State & placed in a public cabinet as the choicest of our antiquities.[13]

Hunt returned to New York state in the latter part of 1856 or the first part of 1857. He served as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Ithaca from 1857 to 1859. Here, according to his wedding record, he performed nine marriages. He then moved to Waterville, New York, where he remained until 1865 and officiated at thirty marriages. Next he served a Presbyterian church at Niles, Michigan, from 1865 to 1871. That this was a busy pastorate is reflected in the fact that he recorded 129 weddings. Thus his wedding record book shows a total of 238 services performed after he left California. The volume closes with the records of 1871. Hunt served other churches in New York to the time of his retirement in 1894. He died at Whitesboro, New York, on February 7, 1895, and was buried at Waterville.[14]

NOTES

1. Arrivals in this far-western field, previous to Oct. 1848, are given in C. M. Drury, "A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California," this QUARTERLY, XXVI (June 1947), 164-67.

2. See "The Gregson Memoirs," this QUARTERLY, XIX (June 1940), 123, for account of aid given by Leavenworth to Mrs. Gregson's baby in Oct. 1847: ". . . he was very kind & would take no pay. . . ." See also letter dated Sept. 30, 1847, from W. T. Sherman to Leavenworth, thanking him for kindness toward sick and abandoned sailors in San Francisco, 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 17 (Ser. 573), p. 360.

3. *General Biographical Catalogue of Auburn Theological Seminary, 1818-1918* (Auburn, N. Y., 1918), p. 88.

4. The late Dr. George Hunt, a Presbyterian minister and son of Timothy Dwight Hunt, turned his father's journals and other papers over to the present author in 1941, for deposit in the archives of the San Francisco Theological Seminary at San Anselmo. Much of the material of this article has been taken from these original sources.

5. Drury, "Chronology . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.

6. Hunt's "Journal," as in note 4 above, I, p. 238.

7. Mention of his first sight and courtship of Miss Poett is made by Gertrude Howard Whitwell, in "William Davis Merry Howard," this QUARTERLY, XXVII (Sept. 1948), 249.

8. Soulé *et al*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 406.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 657.

10. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 764.

11. The *Pacific*, June 24, 1853, reports the arrival of Mooshake in San Francisco to initiate religious work among the Germans. The account states: ". . . no effort of this kind has before been made." The present St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran Church of San Francisco claims to be a continuation of the work begun in 1853 by Mooshake.

12. Dorothy H. Huggins, ed., *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco* (this Society, Spec. Pub. No. 15, 1939), p. 45.

13. Hunt's "Journal," *op. cit.*, IV, 35 ff.

14. See note 4 above.

The Burrell Letters

Edited, with Introduction and Notes
By Reginald R. Stuart

INTRODUCTION

WITH a few exceptions, the letters transcribed below were written by Clarissa Wright Burrell (b. South Canaan, Connecticut, Aug. 31, 1805), the eighth of the children of Elizur Wright, and the second child by his second wife, Clarissa Richards.[1]

Elizur Wright was of English stock. He was a Calvinist, a graduate (1781) of Yale College, where he began wearing a Phi Beta Kappa key in his junior year, and was said to have been "eminent for his piety, his mathematical ability, and his public spirit." The ancestors of his second wife were sea captains. Such of her letters as have been examined indicate that she was of superior mentality, deeply religious like her husband, but she appears to have had a pride which may have seemed worldly to some of her associates.[2]

In 1810, when their daughter Clarissa was five years old, the family moved by ox team and a horse-drawn carriage to Tallmadge, Summit County, Ohio, in the Western Reserve,[3] where they lived until Clarissa married Lyman J. Burrell in 1839.[4]

Clarissa had been well educated—had even, according to the traditions of the family, been a student for some time at Oberlin College.[5] Two of her sisters married ministers and two were the wives of doctors.[6] Her youngest brother, James, became a Presbyterian minister and migrated to California in 1869.[7]

Of all her family, the one who exerted the greatest influence on Clarissa's life was her brother, Elizur, Jr., a Yale graduate, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Western Reserve University, national secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-40, and owner or editor of abolitionist journals. During the course of this latter work he was associated with William Lloyd Garrison and the poet Whittier. Besides his reforming interests (woman's suffrage, insurance laws for protecting policy holders, etc.), he was the translator of La Fontaine's fables, the foreign correspondent of a number of New York and Boston papers during a summer spent in England, and the first insurance commissioner of Massachusetts. He is remembered today as the "Father of American Life Insurance."[8]

Thus, although Clarissa and her family seemingly were buried in the midst of an Ohio forest, they were in reality quite alive to the issues of the day.[9] They raised money, made clothing, helped escaped slaves across the Canadian border, and were in the center of many open or covert movements for abolition.[10]

Clarissa's husband, Lyman J. Burrell, was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, September 4, 1801, one of the eleven children of Jabez Burrell.[11] By 1816 the family had moved to Ohio where Lyman grew to maturity under usual frontier conditions. Marrying a young widow with a daughter by her previous marriage, he settled on a hundred acre farm which had been given him by his father.[12] When his wife died a few years later, he rented the farm and moved to Elyria, the county-seat. Here he worked successively as a quarryman, stock-buyer, and a small manufacturer of lard and tallow oil, soap and candles.[13] In 1839 he married Clarissa Wright and shortly afterward was elected treasurer of Lorain County.[14] Their son, Birney, was born August 4, 1840, and their daughters, Martha and Clara, during the following years.[15]

With the close of Burrell's term as a county official came news of the discovery of gold in California. Each month the magnitude of the find increased. By the spring of 1849 the urge to try his luck in the gold fields became irresistible. Burrell left his business affairs in charge of his wife and tenants and started on the overland journey early the next spring.[16]

He entered California via the Lassen Trail[17] and passes over the hardships of the journey with the comment:

> Nothing of much consequence occurred to me on the way except one accident which happened on the plains. Being tempted away from my train by wild beasts, a premature shot of my gun took off one of my fingers. As I had plenty of time to nurse it, I soon recovered; and, as it came from my left hand, I did not consider it of much consequence. I was able to work as soon as we reached our destination.[18]

In the winter of 1850-51 Burrell returned to Ohio with $2000 in gold dust.[19] A year later he made his second journey to California where he began farming near Alviso, renting land from Cary Peebels in 1852 and from James Lick the following year.[20] When his wife and children joined him in the early part of 1853, he was living at the home of J. T. Clarke, the second husband of Mary Graves, a member of the Donner Party.[21]

In straightforward fashion, the letters below tell their story and stop. They lack the repetitious, moral declaimings which were characteristic of many of the "Gold Rush" journals. In their description of the rigors of the overland journey, of the varying success and vicissitudes of placer mining, of the inevitable sickness, of the high cost of provisions, and of the haphazard communication conditions in the new country, the letters are quite typical; but in their recital of pioneer ranch life in the California foothills, particularly of the Coast Range, they are unique. In addition, the letters record the part played by the wife and mother who remained at home, and upon whose shoulders devolved the task of turning home and household goods into cash for the final removal of the family to California.

Few of those who migrated to California in the 1840's and 1850's were professional miners. They and their friends were by practice and affection, farmers. After the first rush to the placers, these ex-miner farmers either returned home or looked about for locations where once more they might cultivate the soil. They found a peculiar situation. They saw great undeveloped valleys, as rich as any in the world, owned or claimed by the native Californians. For most of the impoverished miners, however, the broad acres had little to offer. Titles were clouded, unfenced crops were destroyed by wild cattle, years of hard work might lead neither to ownership nor prosperity.

But bordering these valleys were hundreds of square miles of foothill and mountain land, outside the Spanish grants; this was the public domain. For thousands of home-seekers, the public domain appeared to be the solution of their urgent and immediate problem. Many of them pushed into the hills and established their homes in supposedly-safe locations outside the rancho limits. Today most of these early mountain farming settlements are gone and forgotten. Whole communities with schools, churches, stores, and post-offices have disappeared. It is believed that these letters may help to preserve some memory of the beginnings of one of the most interesting and more fortunate of these mountain settlements.

When Burrell found that the valley climate was harmful for his wife's health and that land titles were hopelessly unresolved; and, finally, when he saw wild cattle destroy his potato crop, he waited no longer but moved with his family into the Santa Cruz Mountains where, during the previous winter, he had filed a homestead on what he thought was government land and had commenced construction of a redwood house on a wooded ridge near the summit.[22] The house was soon completed. But though prosperity came to this pioneer family through hard work and frugality, the mother's health did not improve. She milks, and makes butter, and gardens; she acts as housekeeper and mid-wife for her step-daughter; and she notices the trends of state and national affairs, the beginnings of educational and religious activities, and records the beauty and tranquillity of her mountain home, but says little of her health. Even her son, Birney, who kept an intermittent diary from the time the family left for California, has but a casual entry devoted to his mother's final illness. It reads: "Tuesday [February] 10 [1857] . . . Mother is going to stay down in the valley for several weeks to go through a course of medicine. . . ." From May 28 to October 25 of that year, Birney's diary is blank. It may have been during this period that consumption claimed its victim, for the family has no record of the date in 1857 upon which she died. And, beyond the fact that she was buried on the ranch, no one now remembers the exact location of her grave.[23]

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Grateful acknowledgment is made to many members of Clarissa Burrell's family and to numerous pioneers who have given time and effort to make the notes accurate. Particularly is the annotator indebted to Henry H. Norton for his initial loan of the letters themselves; also to Mrs. Clara B. Hirsch who furnished additional letters, together with the early diaries of her father Birney Burrell, an etching of the first Burrell home in the

mountains, and a typed copy of her grandfather's reminiscences. Special thanks are extended likewise to Mrs. C. M. Thompson, William Q. Wright, Erle T. Smith, William Adams, Mrs. John A. Wood, "Tass" Ryland, A. H. Bell, William B. Weston, and Frazier Reed, for assistance in various matters relating to the letters.

[Mrs. Clarissa Burrell[24] to Mrs. Amelia Hanford,[25]
Tallmadge, Portage County, Ohio]

Elyria Feb 28th 1850

Dear Friends

I know your anxiety to hear what news I receive from my husband, so I take the liberty to write, or rather I comply with your request; the fifteenth of this month I received a letter dated the fourth of December and mailed at Sacramento City the seventeenth It is the first letter I have received from my husband since his arrival in California I suppose he was waiting to hear from me as he had twice requested me to write and direct to San Francisco The letter which I commensed and James[26] finished when I was sick last August had just come to hand; his anxiety was some what releived by a letter received by Mr Hall[27] of a few days later date, saying I had been very sick but was better. He says of their journey from the City of the Salt Lake to that place, he could give but a faint description on paper he could only say it was long and tedious,[28] especialy to their teams, they were so fortunate as to lose but one of theirs, it tired out on one of the long deserts over which they had to pass, one of them was sixty miles, without grass or water for their cattle, the last ten being the dry bed of a salt lake, the reflection of the heat at noon was almost intolerable, although but few teams had passed before them, the dead and tired out cattle were lying quite thick, all the water for several miles after crossing this desert issued from boiling springs, into which several cattle had plunged and were scalded to death.

In describing their rout, he says they passed along the eastern rim of the great basin from the Salt Lake City north 100 miles to the crossing of the Bear river, after crossing turned west along the north rim to the head of the Humbolt or Sinking Marys[29] river, down which they passed 250, within 40 miles of the sink or where the river looses its self in the sand; then north west on the Oregon Trail and crossed the Siera Nevada near the Oregon line the last day of August, they then turned South, and traveled over and through mountains about twenty days, reached the valley of the Sacramento Sept 22nd, 150 miles north of Sutters fort. Mr. Burrell then left the company and passed up the Sacramento 70 or 80 miles exploring,[30] after two weeks absence he returned and joined the company on Feather river, the young men in his absence had collected gold enough to buy a waggon load of provision, and two of them left the next day for Sacramento City near Sutters fort, with two waggons for their winters supply of provisions, and Mr. Burrell started for a placer 12 miles above, where they leave their waggons, and from which point they carry all their provision etc on their own backs or on mules. when he arrived at the placer he found Peter (one of the young men who went with him) sick lying wrapped up in his blanket, with nothing but an oak tree to shelter him from the rain with which he had been drenched two nights in succession, he had called a physician who had prescribed calomel ipecac opium etc as they were obliged to send to the waggon encampment for medicine, it did not get there until Mr Burrell did; he concluded not to take it but let Mr Burrell try his skill with cold water;[31] he succeeded in procuring an old tent, the weather became fine and after a few applications of the wet sheet he was so far restored as to be able to work, he soon over did and was down again. after an absence of about two weeks the young men returned from the City sick with chill fever; after several relapes they recovered so far as to be able to go to work; during which time Mr Burrell says he went to work in good earnest, or they might starve, 3 out of 4 sick, their provision very high and to be carried 12 miles on their backs over one of the worst of mountains; he went to work with a pan collecting about $42 per day, once a week going to the waggons for provisions, after a few weeks they commensed draining the river to obtain the gold from the bottom, they commenced on Monday, by diging the bank down on one side and throwing a dam across, they succeeded so well that on Saturday they took out $400 worth, on Monday forenoon Mr Burrell picked up $170 in lumps from one to $38 worth, in a week they took out $1,200, to be divided between six of them; when the rain commenced and drove them from their work. they expected so soon as the river should fall low enough to begin their work again. The rain commenced the 2nd of Nov gently at first, but continued to increase untill it poured for two or three days and nights, they had no shelter but a poor tent which let the water in from the top, while the streams runing down from the hills saturated them from beneath. during this rain Mr Burrell was attacked with a diarreah which soon ran into the worst form of dysentary, he say thanks to dame nature and a comfortable log house built by those who went with him, he was then able to do a tolerable days work. He thinks the stories we have read about the quantity of gold there are not exagerated, there is plenty of it only it requires wise heads and hard knocks to get it. I left Sheffleld[32] on Tuesday James and family in usual health; a time of some interest on the subject of religion there.

Please give mine and the childrens love a general distribution.

Your sister Clarissa

Elyria Jan 21st 1851

Dear Friends

I have delayed writing to you very much longer than I intended to, when Eliza[33] first came home I was expecting a letter from Mr Burrell soon and waited that I might have further news to communicate After several weeks the letter came it brought no very cheering news Mr Burrell had been suffering from repeated attacks of ague and fever for several weeks, had not succeeded in his mining operations and pretty much lost the last six months labor he had concluded not to come home this season. Said he had sent me a letter and about all the gold he had on hand by a Mr Briggs[34] from Medina County and hoped I had made up my mind whether I would come to California without his coming after me, and would let him know immediately as he would not like to come home and find I had gone to California. Mr Briggs arrived a week ago last Monday bringing the letters and sixty ounces of the precious metal which he left at Philadelphia[35] to be coined he said Mr Burrell wished him to do with it as he did with his own; he could get only seventeen dollars per ounce for it at the brokers and as it was all Feather river gold of the finest quality he thought it might bring us over eighteen per ounce to have it coined; as it would be three or four weeks before it could be done he left it to be sent on by express I shall probably get it in about two weeks.

A week ago yesterday Mrs Hall[36] a neighbor of ours whose husband is at San Francisco received a letter dated Dec 1st saying Mr Burrell left the day before for home as he took a sail vessel for Panama he would not get here quite so soon as the mail I think should he have a prosperous voyage he may be here the last of this week; he may not however be here for a month yet, I do not know why he changed his mind about coming home; but I do know, I am very glad he did so. Mr Burrell had received a letter from Philo[37] but had not seen him when he wrote the 23rd of Oct I presume he found him before he left, We shall probably visit our friends if the roads are passable soon after Mr Burrell returns. I could not get the stockings wove for two months when I carried them these I shall try to get them done to carry should we visit you.

I was quite sorry Elvira could not content herself to stay and go to school in Tallmadge this winter, she certainly improved very much in her behaviour the little time she was there, and I think if she had been careful not to rub or iritate her eye it would not have troubled her much, we have done nothing for it and it is now almost well, I hope she did not give you a great deal of trouble while she was with you. I would gladly have spared her for her own good. though I needed her help very much when she came home, I had been rather imprudent and taxed my strength more than it would bear and was suffering from an attack of dysentary a few days of rest entirely relieved me and my health now is quite good. Our family are well excepting Ann[38] brother R.['s] oldest daughter, she has been confined to her bed nearly three weeks with a congestive fever we think she is begining to recover though very slowly. Eliza and the children[39] would send *love* to their uncles aunts and cousins if awake.

Your affectionate Sister CLARISSA

Elyria Dec 25th 1851

Dear Husband

Your very welcome letter was received to day and I hasten to reply, although I am rather tired, for we have been attending to butchering. So you will excuse my scattering thoughts and careless style and I will tell you a few things just as they happen to come into my head. Your caution about eating meat and grease came just in time I think however we should not have been likely to suffer much for brother R[40] started for Cleveland this afternoon with the pork leaving us only the rough lard and plucks;[41] pork has been fetching from five to six dollars per hundred. yesterday we heard it had fallen to four sixty, what we shall get for it tomorrow I do not know; brother thought they would average two hundred and fifty a piece, I think they will be sure to bring money enough to pay our taxes. Brother R has not yet been away with candles[42] he thinks of going next week we have bought some rough tallow from an English butcher for five cents per pound and have taken Judge Hamlins after it is rendered at seven cents per pound. Mr Fretter[43] has been to Cleveland with two loads of corn and oats he gets twenty five cents per bushel for oats by measure, and twelve and a half cents for half a bushel of ears of corn, he thought better to dispose of the corn in that way than try to keep it over winter as our meanes for keeping it are poor. We did not seem to be likely to have much for Birney[44] to do so I concluded to send him to school to Mr Mills I will leave the rest of the story for him to tell himself as it is vacation[45] for a few days and he will have plenty of time

I received a letter from Sister Lucy[46] yesterday, her health was improving slowly she was confined at St Paul three weeks she wrote the next day after arriving at Bell Prairie[47] they expected to winter there Mr Lewis was assisting Mr Ayer to build him a new house they had commenced their school with only nine schollars but were expecting more

[Dec] 26th We are living very much after the old style the winter which I so much dreaded has arrived and is quite as uncomfortable as I expected; it has been the most tedious weather for lungs that I have known for several years. Notwithstanding I should like your company very much I am glad you are away where I hope the weather is not quite so cold; indeed I think if it is the will of providence I shall be very thankfull to live in a warmer climate.

Mr John Hall and Mr Briggs returned on board the same steamer you went out on Mr Briggs I understand has gone back Mr Hall intends returning he says any one who has lived two years in California will never want to live in Ohio again. I think he advises Edwin,s[48] wife to go to him rather than have him come to her I hope if she does go I can manage to go with her

I would like very much to attend the lectures[49] in New York but I am fearful I shall not have time to obtain funds and make the necessary preparation and get there in season. Those numbers of the journal and encyclopedia you mentioned I think very interesting. We have very little temptation to use meat for we seldom have it set before us. The children talk some of abstaining from all fleshly lusts but they think it would be rather hard to refuse chicken or squirrel if it was set before them

Martha[50] and Clara[51] would like to have me write a separate letter for them but they are fast asleep now and I shall not have time to write in the morning You will accept an untold quantity of love from them and also from their mother

CLARISSA W BURRELL

Do not fail to write often

Brother R has returned from Cleveland he got ninety dollars for the hogs

Clara has just kissed the letter and wishes you to receive it warm from her mouth

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Elyria Feb 24th 1852

Dear Husband

I had been looking with great interest for the arrival of the California mail, it came saturday evening, Mr Turner called in to say that Mr Wheeler in his letter to Mr Starr mentioned seeing you in Sacramento that your health was improved no letter was found in our box, so I was trying to content my self to wait two weeks longer I was really glad to hear that you were safely there for I had been thinking of fierce gales and burning steamboats &C not to speak of deadly fevers that prevail in that country. Sabbath night Lewis went to the office and behold there was a letter from you I need not tell you how much rejoiced I was to see it and to learn from your own pen that your health was improved notwithstanding the very unfavorable circumstances in which you had been placed. I think we have great cause for thankfullness that you arrived safe amid so many dangers I hope that you will continue to be prospered and happen to light upon some rich mine of ore, if you should perhaps we might see you once more on this side of the continent, though I should be almost afraid to have you try the journey again, as much so as you would to have me come to you I do not know as I am very particular where we live but I should like very much if we might live together some where; no doubt Providence will in due season point out the place and I think that in the course of a year or so if our lives are spared we shall find our-selves settled down in some quiet little nook where we may instruct our little ones, do some good in the world, and enjoy the blessings of our Heavenly Father I feel satisfyed that it was the direction of a kind Providence that led you to go to California this season, for we have had an uncommonly cold winter thus far, and an uncommon amount of typhoid and lung complaints. Our family have been well excepting colds of which I think no member has escaped, but thanks to the use of cold water they are pretty much over with now I have felt very thankful some of our cold days that you were where the weather was warmer. Notwithstanding the dangers of the way if you think best and I have the menes I think I have the courage to undertake the journey. Our cousins Nathan, Henry and Harmon Stevens have been here separately this winter   Nathan and Harmon and his wife would like very much to go to California   they intend to go if they can or when they can obtain the menes Nathan says if you could send him some thing to go with he would work and pay y[ou] after he got there   I had a letter from Sister Lucy last week they were still at Bell Prairie   her health was restored though she had been suffering some from a soar eye but it was geting better,   Lucy said it had been proposed that they should remain there   take charge of the storage and forwarding of the mission goods[52] and take some children into their family to educate.   she says it makes little difference to her where she lives while on earth if she only lives well. Her children said they would like to go to California and live near us. her letter also brought the news of Mr Tilldens death   he died rather suddenly at St Paul. Lucy had not heard the particulars. Mr Lewis was complaining some but the children were quite well. I have not received any letter from Boston since you left; the Commonwelth continues to come   brother Elizur is now publisher and editor with the assistance of a Mr List.[53] I think I will send you a number containing some account of a great man from Hungary, (Governor Kossuth)[54] who is visiting our nation in hopes of obtaining some assistance to free his country from the oppressors power and not only his country but all Europe from the power of despots; he certainly appears to be the most honest great man that has ever come along

I think the children have mentioned Joseph,s being here,   he has given up going to California for the present for want of menes,   Samuel would furnish the menes if he would give up his share in the home stead   this Joseph thinks he ought not to do, and I think Father Humphry would fare rather hard if Samuel had the whole controll there. Mr Fretter continues to do well on the farm, the winter has been a hard one for cattle and they have required more feed than usual, so I shall not have as much grain for sale as I expected but I think we shall get along very comfortably, since the taxes are paid. I do not feel very much solicitude about any thing else. Perhaps brother Robbins will write and tell you how he has managed. Brother James and family are well as usual I have not heard from our friends in Tallmdge lately   I would like to have you try a little to find Philo   The children will send love in their own letters so mine will be burdened with none but my own

Your Wife   C

Mr Wheeler writes that Peter has made his appearance among them lately   I would like to know if it is really so

Your own dear Wife   CLARISSA

Elyria March 3d 1852

Dear Husband

Yours from Santa Clara bearing date Jan 30th made its appearance in this evenings mail, being only thirty three days on the way; Well I am very glad you have gone into farming[55] I think it will be better for your health than tramping all over the country; all I wish now is that we were with you, if we could only squeeze ourselves into the mail we might be there before the ground here would be ready for planting for it is still covered with snow we have had an uncommon share of snow and cold weather this season. I think I shall not be at all sorry to remove to a warmer climate. Cousin Harmon Stevens spent last night with us, he thinks of going to California the over land rout[56] this season and will take his family if he can obtain the menes. A company from Michigan expect to set out in about three weeks. The company is got up by a man who has lately returned from California with his pockets full of the needfull he is going to take in a drove of cows,[57] he offers to take passengers for a hundred and twenty five dollars a head and find them, he has a spring waggon fitted up on purpose for women and children, cousin Harmon thinks of going with this company; and I think if I had my hands full of cash, I and my children would take a seat in that waggon too, and set off to find Pa but the cash is wanting and I am not ready so this opportunity will have to pass. It seems almost an impossibility for me to accumulate more than ten or twelve dollars and those have very soon to be laid out in shoes or some thing else as necessary, it is a very poor place here for any one to make money as you very well know. I do not know as there is much to choose between the different routs for California whether by the Isthmus, the Horn, Nicaragua, or over land there are dangers and discomforts attending them all. There is such a rush for California this season and the fare is so high that I [think] perhaps it will be best for us to wait a while till the tide of emigration turns the other way, you may be sure we are very anxious to be with you and shall make every exertion to do so whenever we can obtain the menes. Eliza is still at Mr Mill,s will stay through this month I suppose brother Robbins, and family will move on to their farm next month though I have not heard them say much about it I believe sister is not at all reconciled to going there They are about building a meeting house in Sheffield[58] have drawn the stone and timber and think they shall get it up and enclosed this season

I wrote you a sheet full last week so I am rather short of news at present, but I am determined your letters shall receive an immediate answer so I will finish this up and prepare it for the mail to night Our family are in usual health excepting Birney who is suffering from an attack of mumps I feel in hopes he will not have them very severely if the children were awake they would send much love to Pa

Your loving wife CLARISSA

Elyria March 20th 1852

Dear Husband

As I think the mail leaves New York the 24th I will write you a few lines if perchance they may be in season I answered your last immediately I do not now recollect what I said about going to California only I know that I am always ready to go as soon as an opportunity offers and I have the means two very essential items to performing a journey I have devised several ways in my own mind about procuring the means some of which I will communicate to you I have thought of trying to loan some money from the Oberlin[59] people and mortgaging this place as security they have obtained their hundred thousand dollars collected some and are wishing to loan it on good security as fast as they do collect it. Uncle Isaac says he should rather not mortgage the place and thinks I might sell the out lot I think perhaps he would like to buy it but he made me no offer I think if I could sell it for fifty dollars per acre or perhaps more and sell the stock on the farm and the candle moulds I might pick up money enough to take us to California without selling or mortgaging the place; and I do not know either but you would rather I would sell the house and lots here than the out lot. I do not think that property here will meet with a very ready sale at present on account of the high taxes They are going on with the rail road and will probably have it finished in time and property here will be worth more. I would like to have your opinion on the subject. I suppose you will have time to write me after receiving this before I shall have an opportunity of going I might set off on the overland rout if I had the menes the first of next month but I think on the whole that would not be the best rout unless you were along We have talked of the passage around the horn but it is geting so late in the season I think we should be obliged to wait untill fall to go that rout; the berths on both the steamer routs are engaged untill the first of April. I have talked with J Hall about the best way of going he thinks it would be best to wait till June or July and take the Nicaragua rout; the great rush for California will probably be over some what by that time, and the rainy season in Central America will be past too. Mr Hall says perhaps by that time she[60] may have a summons from her husband to go also, and I think that J H calculates to go about that time. I have written some of my cogitations as you see and would like your advice Mr Cooley the old gentleman called on saturday to speak for this place they have sold their place to a Mr Belden on the lake shore but do not give possession untill fall; they heard that I talked of going to California and thought they would like to speak in season for the place I think that you would rather rent to them than any one else he did not make me any offer. I had thought if we sold the out lot that one hundred dollars a year would be perhaps about right I think we might afford to rent cheaper to them than to some others for they would take such good care of the trees &C

I think perhaps they will be willing to pay the rent before hand or when I want it to go. The Trust company[61] are about making another trial to sell the farm   brother Robbins says he thinks they intend to bid it in and if they cannot make enough on it they will take the stock[62] and I had better dispose of it as soon as possible   I think they can not do any thing about [it] till after the next term of court in May   I think I had better try to dispose of all I can without too much sacrofise to obtain menes to go to you and not wait for you to send me the menes   I do feel very very anxious to get settled down with *you* some where I do not much care where. Brother James said he thought he should write you soon   Our folks are all in usual health. The little girls Julia Martha and Clara wish me to say that they washed up the dishes for me this morning that I might have time to write my letter   Birney talked of writing some but concluded to wait till next time

Your affectionate wife   CLARISSA

Elyria   April 5th 1852

Dear Husband

Yesterdays mail brought your letter of Feb 21st 24th   O how I wish I was in California; we have had an uncommonly hard winter here, and a very cold backward spring   it does seem as if warm weather never would come; as near as I can remember we have had a snow storm every week since you left   yesterday morning the ground was covered with snow; this morning April 7th is a fine pleasant one with a white frost; how many more snow storms we shall have before this month is out I do not know. I called on Mr Cooley[63] last week to make some arrangement about renting this place   I put the rent as low as I thought I could afford and he made no objection; he would like to rent for three years and is willing to pay the whole or part in advance deducting the interest. I put the rent at $100. pe[r] year but it will be necessary to make some repairs to render the place comfortable   the cistern is broken and kneeds plastering   the wood house needs a new roof   the kitchen wants plastering and indeed there is patching up needed all over the house. Considering the repairs, taxes &C I feel inclined to follow your suggestion to sell the place; although it is not a very good time to sell now for property is decreasing in value and there are more places to be sold than there are purchasers   I think I mentioned in my last some of my cogitations about obtaining the menes for going to California, since the receit of your letter I have changed my mind some what; I think I will try to sell this place and reserve the out lot   Robbins thinks as property is selling now I had better sell this place for $2500.00 than to sell the out lot for less than $50.00 per acre   Should I have an offer of $50.00 for the out lot I think perhaps I had better sell   Our stock does not look as well this spring as I should think they might   I am afraid I shall not be able to get any more if I do as much as you gave for it   I think perhaps by the next mail I shall be able to tell you more definitely what what I can do; and when I shall be ready to set my face towards California. I think from all that I can learn the Vanderbilt[64] rout will be the best for us I would like to know how far Santa Clara is from San Francisco and what menes of conveyance I should find to get there; or if it would be practicable for you to meet us at that place. I am quite sorry that Mr Hall is up in mines for he has not received any of his wife,s letters since she has expressed a willingness to go to California I called on her last evening and I should judge from what she said that she would prefer to go and it is *my impression* that her friend would not make very strong objection, though there was nothing said about it. I know that Mr Beebe is very much dissatisfyed with the rail road tax; and a good many of our property holders wear rather long faces[65] If Mrs Hall should not receive an invitation from her husband to come before I get ready I think I shall not wait. I suppose it not be possible for us to fail of having company,

Cousins Harris and Harmon Stephens and their wives are quite anxious to go to California they have talked of going the over land rout but I believe have given it up; if they can procure the necessary funds they may possibly go when we do I shall let them know as soon as I can make any definite arrangements about going

I have not heard from sister Lucy since I last wrote you Our friends in this region so far as I know are in the enjoyment of usual health The little girles are asleep or they would send much love and many kissess they often talk about Pa and are anxious to go where he is. I am very glad you and Philo have met at last, has he given you that kiss I sent by him you may think it cold by this time but I do not believe it is. I hear that Mr Wheeler says in one of his letters that he has seen or heard from Peter lately if he is in the land of the living why dont *you* say some thing about it My sheet is filled so I must stop short Do not forget to write to your

Wife CLARISSA

Elyria April 25th 1852

Dear Husband

I had been looking all the week for a letter from you as the mail from California has usualy arrived saturday or sabbath but this mail did not get here until saturday of last week I think it was owing to some new arrangement at the Isthmus the mail was not delivered to the first steamers that left after it arrived. I have put off writing so long that that my letter will not probably get into this mail which I think leaves New York to day or tomorrow I shall put it into the can of onion seed should I succeed in getting them, as your letter did not arrive till saturday evening I am obliged to put off getting the seeds untill tomorrow morning it shall then be attended to with all possible dispatch. I have not made much progress towards starting for California since I last wrote you I think I mentioned that I was about making a bargin with Mr Cooley to rent the place for $100, per year;

but as you suggested seelling I thought I would try to do so; it is a very poor time to sell property in Elyria now the taxes are so high: and the citizens are doubtfull as to the benefit the rail road will be to the place Uncle Isaac asked me what I thought the place worth I told [him] you had always valued it at $2500, but I supposed I could not sell it for that now did not think I could get more than $2200. he asked if I would sell it for $2000. I told him I thought I would if he would buy it, he said he must build a house for the girles and he did not know but he might as well buy one already built I have talked with him since about it he said he did not know as he could pay for it I told him if he would pay $1000, some time in June or July he might take his own time for paying the rest; he did not talk very encouraging[66] so I thought I would follow your suggestion, and sent an advertisement to the office which will appear in our next paper Uncle Isaac may buy the place after all, for he did not say that he would not. My present calculations are so soon as I can sell the place to dispose of the furniture so much of it as I can and leave the rest with brother James to dispose of as *he* can, then spend a few weeks visiting our friends after which we will set our faces towards California. I think the Nicaragua rout from all I can learn will be the best for us. When all these things will come to pass I can not say for it depends entirely upon the sale of the place. I think with $1000 besides what we may get for stock, furniture, candle moulds &C, we can go quite comfortably. If I can sell for $2000, we shall then have $1000. and the out lot left to pay brother and sister Lewis.[67] I do not expect to sell my self rich for I am not much of a hand at making good bargins, and I do not expect to have many coppers left by the time we get to California. If we all get there alive and well I think we can make ourselves comfortable. Brother Robbins and family moved to their farm last week so we are quite alone now we felt rather lonely the first night but since we have been so busy cleaning the house and front yard that we have not found time for being lonesome. Robbins wife was much more cheerfull about moving than I expected she would be. James has an addition of another son[68] to his family making now five in all four sons and a daughter they [are] getting along quite comfortably. The union schools are in a flourishing condition at present but I have thought best not send this quarter [last two words crossed out] for I am in hopes to leave here in the course of a month or two. We have had a very cold wet spring so far; but one or two days that have been at all comfortable to work out of doors I have not done any thing in the kitchen garden yet and hardly think I shall for should we go soon I shall not have time to spare, and should we be obliged to stay till fall we should want the vegitables so I am at a loss what to do The prospect for fruit is not very promising yet I think we shall have some cheries Eliza has been at home since Mr Mills and family left she takes hold of work very handily I think she has improved by living with Mr Mills she seems to be desirous of going with us, and as female help is in such good demand I think I shall take her

Your Wife

Elyria June 23d 1852

Dear Husband

I was absent on a visit to Tallmadge when yours of April 25th arrived and did not return in season to answer it by the first mail I am very thankful that you are so punctual to write; the last mail is the first one that has left without a letter from me since I heard of your location at Santa Clara. I hardly know what to say with regard to my future movements I am very much between hawk and buzzard as the old saying is I had hoped to be able to say to you by this mail that we would leave New Y—k the 11" of July and you might look for us some time in August and the only reason why I can not say so is I have not funds enough yet. I have sold the out lot for $420, Brother Robbins has taken the heifers and colts down to his farm and will sell them for me as soon as he can the two cows he has sold I do not remember how much he got for them I have two yet to sell; the candle moulds and a great many other things which if I could sell I think would make enough to take us to California but nobody seems to want to buy what I have to sell; and I had also expected to rent this place to Mr Cooley if I did not sell it and receive a part or the whole of the rent in advance if I needed it: but while I was at Tallmadge Mr Cooley bought Mr Murrey,s place and in company with Mr Pond Mr Olcott and Mrs E Mc Caukins started for California they left the morning before I came home. I think there is not much probability that I can sell this place if I should wait a year so I have about concluded if possible to borrow what I may need after selling every thing I can and set sail. I think Eliza and the children and I can get along very well without any other company than what we shall find on the boat. Mrs Hall has not received an invitation from her husband to come, and some how I begin to feel quite in a hurry to go and live with you since [you] have no idea of coming to live with me. There has not been much done in the factory[69] brother has kept the home market supplied with soap I believe that is all, nothing is doing in it now Dr Dolly and family have returned from Rochester where they spent the winter his health is quite poor, lung difficulties,[70] he would like to go to California and I think would go when I do if he could leave his family just now. A letter from sister Lucy says they are still at Bell Prairie and perhaps may remain there. Mr Lewis, health is not very good he is troubled with a disease of the kidneys which has made its appearance in the latter part of several winters more severely last winter and he thinks it is consequent on the long continued cold of their winters, all that the books recommend, is to remove to a warm climate I have just recommended them to go to California. Our friends in Tallmadge were well as usual sister Sally[71] went with me to Windham found our friends well

Joseph had left for New York about fifteen minutes before we arrived so I missed of seeing him. Sister Amelia went with me to Solon; so you see I have made a general visitation. The children and I went by rail road it is finished to Coyhoga [Cuyahoga] falls I saw Mother Burrell and Henry Wettmore Mother is better than when we were there, they wished to be remembered to you. A letter from brother Elizur[72] last week said they were all well; he has by some unfair menes been cheated out of his interest in the paper, and he was in trouble about meeting a payment due on his house and there was some danger that he might lose the $1500. he had paid on it and I see by the papers that his trial in the Shadrac[73] case was attended to last week it wass dismissed as the jury could not agree. The whigs here had a great canonading night before last because Gen Scott was nominated for president. Since I have been writing Wm Wright of Oberlin has called and says Philo arrived in Tallmadge the 16th two days after we left. I think we shall see him here soon his Mother said she would let him come out here soon if he arrived before I left that he might give us all the information he could respecting our journey. Sister Sarah[74] was here yesterday friends in Sheffield well. I suppose there are a great many more things I might say but will leave them till I see you. If you do not get any letter the next mail after this you may expect we shall be on hand in the course of two or three weeks We have a pretty fair crop of cherries which are now ripe we intend to dry as many as we can to take with us Eliza puts into it with all her might she has been a very good girl since she came home last spring and I think will be quite a help to me on the way and a comfort to us when we get there I think when you get all my letters you will have a pretty good idea of what we are are all doing here The strawberries you set out last fall are bearing some we have had two or three messes from the old vines. Eliza Martha and Clara send much love

Your affectionate Wife CLARISSA

Mr Lyman J Burrell
Santa Clara Santa Clara Co. California

Elyria July 9th 1852

Dear Husband

I think I said in my last if you did not receive a letter from me the next mail you might expect I would be on hand soon; well I do not seem to be quite ready to set sail yet; it is rather of an up hill business for a woman to sell, or rent a house and lot, and turn all the loose property of such an establishment as this into cash. Some times I get quite discouraged and think I never shall get money enough together to take us to California. If it were not for my large organ of hopefullness I should give up the matter entirely; but still hope every day some body will come along to buy the house or I can find some one who is willing to loan me a few hundred. You may be sure I shall be on the way so soon as I can scrape together enough of the needfull for I am quite tired of living between hawk and buzzard I had written to cousin Harry Burrell (before the receipt of yours of May 22nd) enquiring what would be the fare and where we should go to procure tickets, he sent me a card of the agent of the Vanderbillt line, the, fare is the same as when you went I have since written to him inquiring about the clipper ships If I should find the expenees considerable less, and can get a good ship I think I will take that rout, if not I should prefer the steamers I think the children would suffer from so long a confinement and I have a great dread of getting becalmed on the Pacific and starving to death though I have never heard that the clipper,s meet with such disasters You mentioned writing to me at San Francisco that will be a very good arrangement as you seem likely to have two homes or places of residence, and I might not know at which I should find you. You seem to be enlarging your business somewhat I hope you will not get so many irons in the fire that [you] can not strike any of them till they are cold Mary Burrell says you will work yourself to death and wont be able to carry a peck of bran by the time we get there. Our neighbors are most of them having the fever and ague, as many as one or two in every house and some whole families Charlotte and Mary Ann have had it Lewis and Julia have had it since they moved to Sheffield Our family have escaped thus far and I feel quite in hopes we shall not be troubled with it.

The whigs are making great rejoicings over the nomination of General Scott for the next president. The fourth or rather fifth was not celebrated in town except by the firing of canon and crackers and fire balls and a bonfire in the evening. I did not have time to look over Birneys letter before it was sent I think the sum was not done right he should have divided by 81 the square of 9 instead of 9 if I had thought of it in season I would have had him try the sums again and written a letter [to] send with this.[75] I would like to ask you what things you would like to have me bring (should we take a ship) besides the kettle and stove; but it takes so long for a letter to go and an answer to come back that we might be well on our way before the answer would get here. I am geting very sleepy so I will bid you good night perhaps I may add a word or two in the morning

Saturday Morn The children send much love I shall write every mail till we start and if we go by clipper will write you when we leave New York

Your affectionate Wife CLARISSA

Elyria Aug 18th 1852

Dear Husband

I am determined to keep writing to you till I get ready to start I know you think I am on the way and perhaps are looking for me now: well the only reason why I have not been on the way long ago is the want of cash to pay the fare I believe the *Men* here think it is beneath their dignity to trade with a woman; or if they do condescend to do so they are in duty bound to cheat all they can. I am realy quite out of heart trying to sell any thing or earn any thing here I have had the place advertised in the Lorain Argus and in the Cleveland Herald but have had no offer only from Uncle Isaac of $1500, and I have about concluded to take up with his offer for I think I might stay here two or three years and be no nearer selling than I am now and for my part I am quite tired of staying in this way. If Uncle Isaac pays me five hundred, now that with what I get from the out lot and else where will take us to California and leave one thousand for Lucy I think perhaps Eliza and [I] can get some employment that we can earn the other five hundred dollars in the course of a year or two.[76] I think if we can get to California we shall both of us be willing to do any thing by which we can make money We have made all necessary preparations for our journey and have disposed of or bestowed most of our house hold furniture and think we shall spend the next week in Sheffield and the week after set out for California. Now all it all depends upon whether Uncle Isaac will take the place and pay the five hundred. I tryed to borrow some money of Uncle James Burrell he had it to let but was afraid I could not give good security; as my husband was absent he thought a motgage on the place would not hold. So you see those of our friends who have money to let are afraid to do so, and those who have not any of course can not help me[77] Some times I feel almost sorry I ever tryed to sell out and go; not because I am less anxious to live with you but because I have to sell every thing at such a sacrafise, well I think if I ever get to California with all my children alive and well and find you so I shall be more thankfull than I ever was before. I would not have written such a gloomy fretful letter only I happened to feel just so; but they say the darkest time comes just before day, so I have some hope, for I am sure things look dark enough to me now If I do not make out to get off next month I shall write so you can hear from us if you do not see us we are enjoying usual health The children join in love

Your affectionate wife CLARISSA BURRELL

Boston[78] Sept 19" 1852

Dear Husband

We have at last set out on our long journey and got so far. We concluded after all to accept of your advice, and take the long voyage around the cape. brother Elizur also gave the same advice and invited us to come here to embark as the best clippers sail from here, we have engaged our passage on a new ship just finishing; it is one of the largest built here, it is built by the same man who built the Flying Cloud[79] and several others of the swiftest sailing vessels on the ocean; it is called Westward Ho:[80] the day for sailing is not set, but will probably be the first of October[81]

I will write you the day we sail that you may know when to look for us I am very sorry we cannot reach you before you leave Santa Clara.[82] If you cannot meet us at San Francisco I hope you will leave word with Mr Peebles[83] where we shall find you, and how we can get there I think if we meet with no disaster we shall be in San Francisco the last of December The riger of the vessel says he thinks this vessel will make the quickest trip that has ever been made to California You must keep up good courage Pa I hope you will see us some time or other and then I will tell you all the hindrances I have met with The children are in usual health and send much love to their dear pa pa

Your affectionate Wife CLARISSA BURRELL

[Mr. Elizur Wright to Mrs. Clarissa Wright Burrell]

Boston Oct 16—1852[84]

To my dear sister

Clarissa Burrell, whose heart is too large to be separated from a brother either by distance or bigotry, I present these fine old heart pictures.

Had Shakspeare known *you*, Clarissa he would even have added to the beauties of his women, from a quarter where beauty is too seldom sought and less often found. May these pictures awaken many of the pleasant memories that bind us together till the space which will soon be between us is but a memory.

ELIZUR[85]

Copy

Written by Uncle Elizur Wright in the first volume of the set Shakspeare that he gave to mother just before we started for California

[MARTHA BURRELL]

Santa Clara Feb 12 1853

Dear Brother & Sisters

You are doubtless looking with some anxiety for a letter giving an account of our arrival in this land of gold. I suppose brother Elizur sent you a paper giving an account of the departure of the ship Westward Ho. The ship being new and every thing clean we were not subject to all the annoyances that are consequent on long voyages; indeed we had on the whole a very pleasant time, though there were some things we could have wished different; for instance we had a drunken captain,[86] which was not very pleasant, he was continualy scolding because the women and children made so much noise, and threatened to send the children to bed at six, and the women at eight,[87] we did not however feel ourselves under obligation to mind all his whims; and we did not apprehend any danger from the mismanagement of the ship, for we had a fine man for first mate,[88] who took charge of the ship and promised he would not obey the captains orders if they were likely to lead us into danger; but so long as the ship was safe he must do as the captain bid; though we were hindered some two or three weeks by it, for he kept us going backwards and forwards in nearly the latitude of cape Horn for almost two weeks and then would not make sail when the wind was fair and we could make ten or twelve nots an hour. Notwithstanding our hindrances we made the voyage in 103 days. The two first weeks out from Boston were rather stormy. I think quite as severe gales as any we had, it was very pleasant sailing through the tropical regions;[89] we did not suffer so much with heat as I expected, especially on the Pacific, we could almost always find a cool breeze on deck. The weather was very cold at the cape, and as we had no fire we felt it considerably. We had several snow storms; one morning the decks were covered two inches deep with snow. I think it must be a very dreary region in winter when their nights are 18 or 20 hours long; I think we could see to read without a candle till after 9 oclock; and it was broad day light by three in the morning. We went south nearly to the sixtieth degree The albatross and cape pigeons were quite plentiful in the region of the cape We saw several whales spouting at a distance, but did not come near enough to have a view of them. We passed several schools of flying fish, some were tolerable size, one was washed on deck by a wave and caught, when cooked it tasted much like our small river fish I should have kept a journal of the remarkable occurances on our voyage if I had not been sea-sick; the first week I was not able to leave my state room but once or twice and for several weeks I was but just able to get out to my meals and crawl up on deck into the fresh air to keep from loosing them, which expedient did not always succeed; it was with difficulty I could muster courage enough to knit, I did not get to feel quite comfortable till we came into the trade winds on the Pacific; the children suffered but little with sea sickness especially Eliza and Birney. They seemed to enjoy themselves very well there were two little girles about the ages of Martha and Clara and two boys about the age of Birney and three young ladies were company for Eliza, and three married ladies going to meet their husbands were company for me, so we were all provided with companions, and quite pleasant company they were too.[90] One lady a Mrs Hamlin,[91] from Peoria Illanois, found when she arrived at San Francisco that her husband had been dead three months; she was considerably overcome at the sad news, indeed, it seemed to us all very much as if there had been a funeral on board. We anchored in the harbor on Monday morning but did not get up to wharf till wednesday morning our vessel was so large and the tide run so fast we were obliged wait till we could be towed in by a steamer The gentlemen went on shore in the boats and brought us all the important news such as who is president the death of Daniel Webster[92] &C

As there was no letter to be found for me in the post-office at San Francisco, Mr Johnson the (first mate) offered to find Mr Peebles for me as Mr Burrell had directed me to call on him in case I did not find a letter; he found him quite readily, and he had the week before received a line from Mr Burrell saying that he was expecting his family on the ship Westward Ho, and would be glad to have him find a conveyance for them to Alviso as he was then working on a Mr Clarks farm about two miles and a half from that place. The steamer for Alviso did not go out until thursday so we stayed on board the vessel till we were ready to go Mr Peebles sent a dray for our luggage and came himself to wait upon us to the steamer Mr Johnson also went with us and saw us safely on board Mr P introduced us to an acquaintance of his Esq Ryland[93] of San Jose he appeared to be a very fine man, and as the steamer was not likely to get up to the landing untill after dark (on account of the tide) he spoke to the captain to let us remain on board all night; their accommodations were quite comfortable and they mad no extra charge. We rose before the sun on friday morning Birney started off first thinking he should find Pa and come back with a team to help us along, after seeing our baggage safely stored in a ware house, we set off in company with an old gentleman who was going in

Pa and the children join in sending love to uncles aunts and cousins Martha says she will write to Julia[94] next time

C B

Our post office is Santa Clara Santa Clara County California

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. "Wright Genealogical Chart." (Henry H. Norton Collection, Grants Pass, Oregon; see notes 50 and 51 below.)

2. P. G. and E. Q. Wright, *Elizur Wright, The Father of Life Insurance* (Chicago, 1937), p. 1.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

4. H. S. Foote, ed., *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World; or, Santa Clara County, California* (Chicago, 1888), p. 263.

5. Letter of Clarissa Wright to her parents, Apr. 10, 1824, from Wooster, Ohio, where she was teaching; and another to her sister, Mrs. Amelia Hanford, May 16, 1834, from Edgeworth Seminary, Wilkens, Pa., where she was attending school. (Norton Collection.) However, "A careful search through the college records fails to reveal the name of Clarissa Wright." Letter from Donald M. Love, secretary, Oberlin College, to present writer, Jan. 14, 1949.

6. "Wright Genealogical Chart," as above; and data given in this series of letters.

7. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

8. P. G. and E. Q. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-239.

9. Letter of Mrs. Clarissa Wright to her daughter, Martha, Dec. 21, 1828, from Tallmadge, Ohio. Speaking of Western Reserve College, she says, ". . . they are yet without a President for Mr Emerson would not be prevailed on to accept the appointment." (Norton Collection.)

10. Letter of Mrs. Clarissa Wright Burrell to her mother, Mrs. Clarissa Wright, May 11, 1840, from Elyria, Ohio, gives detailed information concerning anti-slavery activities in Ohio, the collection of funds for freedmen's benefits, etc. (Norton Collection.)

11. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

12. "Recollections of an Octogenarian," *Mountain Echoes*, I, No. 1 (Dec. 31, 1881). This was a handwritten serial publication of ten issues, 1881-82, now in the collection of Erle T. Smith, who resides near the old town of Burrell, Santa Clara County.

13. *Idem.*

14. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 266. Clara Burrell was born June 30, 1845. J. M. McGuinn, *History and Biographical Records of Coast Counties, California* (Chicago, 1904), p. 1287.

16. "Recollections . . .," as above.

17. For detailed description of this route, see Ruby Johnson Swartzlow, "Peter Lassen, Northern California Trail-Blazer," Calif. Hist. Soc., 1940.

18. "Recollections . . .," as above.

19. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

20. *Idem.*

21. C. F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1940), p. 239.

22. "Recollections . . .," as above.

23. Mrs. Clara B. Hirsch writes from North Bergen, N. J. (postmarked Jan. 4, 1949): "Grandmother was buried in the Mountains on their property–later becoming the property of Miss Martha Burrell."

24. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are transcribed without change.

25. Mrs. Amelia Wright Hanford, wife of Rev. William Hanford, was an elder half-sister of Clarissa (Wright Genealogical Chart).

26. Rev. James Richards Wright, Clarissa's youngest brother, was born in Tallmadge, Ohio, April 14, 1814, and died in Santa Clara County, California, in 1898. He was a graduate of Oberlin College and a Congregational minister. He migrated to California in 1869. Wright's Station on the old South Pacific line from Los Gatos to Santa Cruz was named for him. In 1844, he was married to Sarah Holmes Vincent. Ten children were born to this union: Charles R., Elizur, Lucy, William H., James F., Albert T., Henry W., Sumner B., Frank V., and Clara A. He was a farmer and Presbyterian minister in California. His home, "Arbor Villa," was located on the ridge a thousand feet above Wright's Station. Guinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 1070-3.

27. This was Edwin Hall who had been an Ohio neighbor.

28. The route as described by Clarissa is shown in detail in the "Map to Illustrate [Hosea B.] Horn's Overland Guide to California and Oregon," published by J. H. Colton, New York, 1853: from Salt Lake City north 100 miles to the Bear River, then westerly over Brophy's Cut Off to the Humboldt River; down this river to a short distance above Humboldt Lake (or Sink), thence northwesterly along Lawson's (Lassen's) Cut Off to a point east of Grave (Goose) Lake near the Oregon boundary, thence southerly to enter the Sacramento Valley along Antelope Creek. See Swartzlow, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12, for additional information about the "Lawson Cut Off." Also see Asa Merrill Fairfield's *History of Lassen County* (San Francisco, c1916), pp. 3-10 and map. For a day by day record of a trip over this trail in 1849, see Israel F. Hale, "Diary of a Trip to California . . .," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, II (1925), 114-30.

29. Sinking Marys River was an early name for the Humboldt.

30. The gold region was not so accurately defined in 1849 as it is at present. It was at about this time that gold was discovered in the vicinity of old Shasta, six miles west of Redding.

31. The water treatment, hydropathy, though of ancient origin, was popularized and extended by a Silesian farmer named Priessnitz during the years from 1820 to 1841. In this country it found many advocates during the gold rush.

32. A small community in Lorain County, Ohio, where her brother James was a minister. Guinn, *op. cit.*, p. 1073.

33. Eliza was the daughter of Mr. Burrell's first wife.

34. Joseph W. Briggs, born in New York in 1832, moved to Medina County, Ohio, when young, and came to California during the gold rush. With his brother he became one of the first extensive fruit growers near Marysville. Later, he located on the Trimble Road in Santa Clara County. He died Apr. 19, 1887. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

35. The San Francisco mint was established in 1854.

36. This was Mrs. Edwin Hall.

37. Clarissa's elder half-brother, Philo Wright ("Wright Genealogical Chart").

38. Ann Robbins, the daughter of the Burrells' tenant.

39. Birney, age 10; Martha, 7; Clara, 5.

40. The tenant, Samuel (?) Robbins.

41. The heart, liver, and lungs of an animal.

42. The Burrells owned and operated a candle factory in Elyria.

43. Fretter was the tenant on the Burrell farm in Lorain County.

44. James Birney Burrell, probably named for the great abolitionist, James G. Birney, was born Aug. 4, 1840, in Elyria, Ohio. His diary of the trip around the Horn and of the early days in California is a most creditable document for a young boy. According to his records, his life on the Burrell ranch was a strenuous one. It is quite evident his father placed many responsibilities on his shoulders. On June 18, 1871, he was married to Miss Mary L. Campbell, a native Californian. To this union were born three children: Frank L., now living in San Jose; William (deceased), and Clara, now Mrs. Rudolph Hirsch of New Jersey. Birney spent considerable time in Mexico, where he had at one time large real estate holdings. His later days were spent on his portion of the Burrell ranch. He was frugal, modest, and very industrious, and had considerable inventive talent. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 266; and Birney Burrell's diary.

45. The letter was written Christmas 1851. Apparently this family gave slight emphasis to many of the holidays.

46. Clarissa's younger sister, Mrs. Lucy Wright Lewis ("Wright Genealogical Chart").

47. Belle Prairie was located about eight miles north of Little Falls, Morrison County, Minn. (Johnson's *New Illustrated Family Atlas of the World* (New York, 1867).

48. Clarissa consistently used the comma for the apostrophe.

49. Probably anti-slavery meetings. Her brother, Elizur, who was then the editor of the *Commonwealth*, was under indictment for assisting Shadrack, a fugitive slave, to escape from the custody of a U. S. marshal.

50. Martha Burrell was born about 1843. Early photographs show her as a rather small, straight, clear-eyed, unsmiling girl in her teens. She never married, but made her home on the portion of the Burrell ranch which she owned. It was she who collected the letters and other material of her family and gave them to Judge Harry Norton.

51. Clara Burrell was born June 30, 1845, at Elyria, Ohio. On Nov. 15, 1864, she married Hiram C. Morrell, a native of Maine, who had come to California in 1854. He was engaged in lumbering, first in Placer County, then for a year around Humboldt Bay, and from 1859 to 1900 in the Santa Cruz Mountains. The Morrells built their home in 1867, a short distance northwest of "Mountain Home." They had five children: Lizzie M., who married Judge Harry Norton; H. Clifford, Jr.; Jesse B.; Minnie C., who married —— Thompson; and Albert E. (Guinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 1286-7).

52. The Chippewa Indian Reservation was located about 15 miles north of Belle Prairie. J. H. Colton, *General Atlas* (New York, 1859.)

53. In May 1852, Wright and List quarreled over editorial policies, and the latter, having more influence with the directors, had Wright dropped as editor. P. G. and E. Q. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

54. Wright's outspoken championship of Louis Kossuth was one of the factors that caused the dismissal of the former. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

55. Burrell was renting a farm near Santa Clara from Cary Peebels.

56. At different times Clarissa considers the relative advantages of the four principal routes to California: the overland; via the isthmus of Panama; via Nicaragua; and around the Horn.

57. For a cattle drive to California in 1853, see "Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint," reprinted from *An. Pubs.*, Hist. Soc. Southern Calif., Los Angeles, 1923, pp. 12-72.

58. Clarissa's brother, James R. Wright, was the minister at Sheffield.

59. Oberlin College. Founded in 1833, it was coeducational and one of the first institutions of learning to admit colored students. It was one of the strongholds of anti-slavery sentiment.

60. His sister-in-law, Mrs. Edwin Hall.

61. It would appear that the Trust Company held a mortgage against the farm.

62. In a deficiency judgment, this might happen.

63. See note 66 below.

64. The Vanderbilt Independent Line. For details of the wreck of its steamship *Independence* off coast of Lower California on Feb. 16, 1853, see E. A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers* (San Francisco, 1938), pp. 97-103.

65. Special community taxes, voted for the purpose of securing local improvements, still prove to become unpredictable burdens.

66. Elyria must have been full of this type of bargain-hunter: (1) get the very lowest offer on the basis of being a close friend or relative; (2) ask if a price a few hundred less would be accepted; (3) don't accept this new offer, but act as if you might at some future time—this will disarm the seller; (4) at a later date talk in a very pessimistic manner; (5) wait until the last moment, then buy the property at your own price and terms.

67. It appears that the Burrells owed her sister and husband an undisclosed amount, probably $1500.

68. James F. Wright.

69. The Burrells had a small soap factory in connection with the candle works.

70. Innumerable cases of pulmonary sickness are mentioned in the papers of the pioneers.

71. Probably Sally (Owen) Wright, the wife of her half-brother, Philo Wright.

72. Elizur Wright, Clarissa's brother who lived in Boston. The paper was the *Commonwealth*, an anti-slavery journal.

73. See note 49 above. Wright was tried before the U. S. Circuit Court on June 4, 1852. The jury stood 10 or 11 for conviction. In his second trial, which began October 23, 1852, he was acquitted. P. G. and E. Q. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-7.

74. Clarissa's sister-in-law, Mrs. James R. Wright.

75. Indicative of the family's love of mathematics are the problems which accompany many of their letters.

76. See note 67 above.

77. Re-statement of fallacy that if once given more ample means, the heretofore less amply supplied would, immediately thereupon, become benefactors and act differently from those they had made a practice of criticizing.

78. Clarissa and her family were at her brother's (Elizur Wright's) home in Boston.

79. See note 95 below.

80. ". . . a fine clipper vessel of 1650 tons, very sharp and supposed to be the fastest ship afloat." Amy Requa Russell, "Early Years of William F. Herrick," this QUARTERLY, XXVI (Sept. 1947), 227.

81. It sailed Oct. 16, 1852.

82. It is probable Burrell made his first trip into the Santa Cruz Mountains at this time.

83. Cary Peebels was born in Lexington, Kentucky, April 12, 1808. He lived in Missouri for many years; married Miss Teresa Cavanaugh in 1843, who died three years later. He started for California in 1849 with 43 wagons and 3 carriages loaded with merchandise for the mines. On reaching Salt Lake City he disposed of his interest in the train and started on horse-back, accompanied by a man and boy, for San Francisco. He carried

with him $4000 in gold coin from Brigham Young's mint. In San Francisco he found the other merchandise he had shipped around the Horn and which he took to Sacramento. The floods of that year destroyed his goods at a loss of $4000. Later, he mined in Grass Valley and then came to Santa Clara County where he purchased 126 acres between Santa Clara and Alviso at $7 per acre. In the spring of 1852, he engaged in the produce business in San Francisco, but sold out in 1855 and moved to his farm, which he had increased to 400 acres. He was one of the most energetic and progressive farmers of Santa Clara County in the 1850's and 1860's. J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara Co.* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 671. The original Peebels' ranch was located in Sec. 27, T6S, R1W, M.D.M. Thompson and West, *New Historical Atlas of Santa Clara Co.* (San Francisco, 1876).

84. This was the day of departure, and Birney Burrell begins his diary. He writes: "Saturday October 16th 1852 This morning was a scene of bustle and confusion. About 8 o clock my uncle took me out to a clothing Store and bought for me an overcoat which cost 4 dollars he also bought 3 cakes of shaving soap which was to shave pa when we got to California. We then went down to the wharf where we got on board a steamer which was to pilot us out of the harbor. In a short time my mother Sisters my aunt cousins and a few friends arrived in a coach my uncle and cousins tiny and Mary accompanied us to the ship The steamer piloted out of the harbor where we took leave of our friends We had a very good sail the remainder of the day the wind blew a nice breeze It was very cold on deck so I staid in the cabin most of the time. I was not seasick."

85. Indicative both of a brother's love and the articles which were thought to be appropriate gifts at that time.

86. Capt. William B. Graves was in command of the *Westward Ho*. See Russell, *op. cit.*, note 80, for estimate of Graves.

87. Birney Burrell in his diary goes into details: "Fri [Dec.] 3 [1852] Lat 45. Lon 57.23. Our direction is N.N.W. the captain has turned the ship around this morning he has drank a good deal of wine lately he called the steward into his room and after giveing him a good scolding about talking with the passengers he told him to clear out. he then came out into the ladies cabin and spoke as follows ladies as you call yourselves I wish you would let alone talking with that rascaly steward if you can't get any one but a nigger to talk with I wish you to come to me and I will try to furnish you with Some one he went on to say that it was against all the rules of the ship &c. &c. In a little while although us children were unusualy still he came out and made us a speech as follows. aint there any body to take care of these brats I can't have this noise nor I wont have it if any of you children aint got any mother come to me and I'll be a father to you All. for breakfast he ordered 5 or 6 plates full one after another sending them all back in their order except one At dinner he ordered 5 plates sent them all back and went without Once when he heard the Steward talking to Jonny he came to the cabin door and roared out "Steward look here less noise there I dont want to hear so much of your tongue going do you hear. I have got an Epipath which aplys to him which goes as follows

There was a man who died of late
For whom angles did impatient wait
On wings of love
To waft him to the realms above

But while disputing for their prize
Still hovering around there lower skies
In sliped the Devil with other knaves
And down to Hell he kicked old graves."

88. First Mate, G. W. Johnson; —— Spear, second mate; —— McKennon, third mate; —— Annis, fourth mate or boatswain; G. A. Lans, steward. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

89. Birney Burrell's diary reads as follows: "Jan 1 [1853] . . . this morning the air was filled with tropic birds most of them marlin spikes We are in a dead calm about noon 5 of the gentlemen passengers viz the 2 Mr Herrics Mr Lucus Mr Smith and Mr Fensinton got into the star-board boat lowered it and took a sail around the vessel it is needless to say that I wished to go Mr Herric who has been a sailor took the oar to steer with and Mr Lucus Smith and Fensinton pulled at the oars."

90. Birney lists the passengers in the after cabin thus: ". . . there are 4 families including ourselves. next door neighbor to us lives Mrs Turner her sister and her children Fredy and Charley. Next comes Mrs Hamlin and her children Amelia and Ralph. then comes Mrs Staples with her children Fanny Frank Ellen Susan and Alpheus. There are 10 gentleman passengers the names of those whom I know I will repeat viz Mr Hilland Mr Dane who reside in the after cabin. Mr Atkinson Mr Smith the two Mr Hirrics (brothers [see note 80 above]) Mr Lucus Mr Luce Mr Whiteman, and Mr Fensinton."

91. Birney Burrell's diary for Jan. 31, 1853.

92. Daniel Webster died on Oct. 24, 1852.

93. This was Caius Tacitus Ryland, son-in-law of the first American governor, Peter H. Burnett. A Missourian, he was born June 30, 1826, the son of Judge John F. Ryland of that state. At different times he served as clerk of the Court of First Instance in San Francisco; private secretary of Governor Burnett; speaker of the state assembly; commissioner to locate the state university; and trustee of the San Jose State Normal School. In private life he was an attorney and banker. He left a large family, members of which are prominent citizens of present-day Santa Clara County. W. F. Swasey, *Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland, 1891), p. 282 and Dedication.

94. Probably Julia Upson Loomis, Clarissa's niece, born July 3, 1818.

Major James D. Savage and the Tulareños

By Annie R. Mitchell

HIS enemies said he was an uncouth liar who exploited the Indians. His friends said he was a shrewd, intelligent man who gave his life in an effort to keep the Indians from being exterminated. He said,

> . . . while you study books, I study men. I am not much deceived, and I perfectly understand the present situation, but let those laugh who win. If I can make good my losses by the Indians out of the Indians, I am going to do it. I was once the best friend the Indians had, and they would have destroyed me. Now that they once more call me chief they shall build me up. I will be just to them as I have been merciful, for after all, they are but poor ignorant beings, but my losses must be made good.[1]

This is the picture of James D. Savage, who came obscurely into California as an immigrant in 1846 but who was destined to become virtual ruler over hundreds of Tulareños Indians and to be intimately concerned with the federal government's Indian policy in California. He was a typical mountain man, courageous, fearless and secretive; he was also sharp, intuitive and grasping.[2] The little that he has told about himself indicates that his life did not differ much from that of any other boy who grew up on the shifting fringe of the American frontier.[3] His maternal grandfather saw service in the Revolutionary War, as did his grandfather, James Savage. After the war, the family moved from Massachusetts to Locke, Cayuga County, N. Y. In 1822 or '23 James Savage's sons, Peter and John, migrated to Illinois and were among the first settlers in Jacksonville. Peter Savage married Doritha Shaunce and to them in 1823 was born James D., the subject of this paper. Blond and blue-eyed, he grew into a good-natured lad, with little formal education; but his native shrewdness and wit and his ability to get along with people took the place of books. Just when he became a mountain man—lived with Indians and roamed the then-West as a trapper and trader—is uncertain. However, it was during this period that he developed an admiration for the Indians' way of living. Early in the 1840's, he returned to Cayuga County and married, and for a while he and his wife Eliza (surname not traceable) lived in Peru, Illinois, but Savage chafed at the tameness of village life. Luckily for him, economic pressures within the eastern states were setting in motion overland migrations toward the west which have been almost obscured by the later, more out-and-out rush for gold. A family or a small group of families would load their possessions and start toward Independence, Missouri, where they would congregate into larger trains and begin the westward march. In April 1846, James, Eliza, and James' brother Morgan Savage started for Independence. When they arrived, some two thousand persons were waiting for the grass on the western plains to be sufficiently high to feed their stock. It is difficult to follow the fortunes of wagon trains:

they split, merged, separated, and argued over the best and worst routes. Nevertheless, we do know that the group at Independence started out on the first of May without any particular organization.[4] In a few days they formed loosely organized groups, led by such men as J. Quinn Thornton who was going to Oregon; William Russell, headed for California; Edward Bryant who was also going to California, as was the main group under Ex-Governor Lilburn Boggs of Missouri. James Savage cast his lot with the Boggs party. On May 19, this group was joined by the Reed and Donner party. Except for the members of the Donner party, no exact list of names of the cavalcade has been kept. The route was the usual one: up the north fork of the Platte, up the Sweetwater to South Pass, down the Big Sandy to Fort Bridger. Here they met Lansford Hastings who persuaded about eighty (the Donner party) to take the Hastings Cutoff. On June 2, the group led by Thornton separated and started for the Oregon territory. For some reason, Morgan Savage elected to join them; perhaps the reason was sentimental, for Thornton tells us that on June 18 Morgan Savage was married.[5] James Savage stayed with the Boggs party. Somewhere along the route, his wife Eliza and the baby died,[6] and their graves have been obliterated by the feet of the thousands who took the same trail.

The Boggs party reached Sutter's Fort on October 28, 1846, too late for participation in the Bear Flag affair but just in time for many of its members to join Frémont's California Battalion. Edwin Bryant, who had arrived ahead of the Boggs party, was enlisting volunteers and Savage must have joined promptly for he took part in the march from Monterey to San Luis Obispo, November 17 to December 14, 1846. It is significant that his presence was recorded, because he was one of the worst malcontents in the battalion.[7] In spite of his dissatisfaction, he stayed with it until it was disbanded in April 1847. From the Indian members of the battalion he learned about the isolated part of the central valley of California, which the Spaniards called the Tulares and which the white men were to call the San Joaquin Valley. There is some evidence that he had visited it previously; also that he had been in Oregon.[8] In any case, his decision to make the valley his home was not a hasty one, for he was still around Sutter's Fort in September 1847 doing odd jobs;[9] however, late that fall we find him putting up a brush tent on the Merced River and setting about making a living as a trader. His ability to speak Indian dialects and his sympathy with them brought results. In a few months he had married several Indian women[10] and had been elected chief of their tribes. José Juárez, leader of the powerful Chow-chillas, was one of his friends. The Indians began to call him El Rey Huero, their Blond King.[11]

This title had a peculiar effect upon Savage. His latent leadership developed with ruthless intensity. His wish became a command. His friends were now his subjects. He let it be known that he preferred to be called El Rey Tulareño, King of the Tulares, and he was able to live like one, for he made money in his trading post. Then, too, he had found something, which for unexplainable reasons had been overlooked for eighty years by the Spanish and Mexicans, namely, that his domain covered much of what was later to be one of the rich mining regions in California,[12] and shrewd James D. Savage set his Indians to digging gold in quantities. The few white men who visited the Tulares during this time have left fanciful stories of El Rey Tulareño and of the extent of territory (from Mariposa to the Four Creeks in the vicinity of Visalia) over which he ruled—not by taking advantage of his subjects but simply by outsmarting them.

The gold rush upset law and order all over California, especially in the Tulares. Every rock and crevice were ransacked for gold, despite the fact that the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed the Indians in their ownership of the land.[13] Once more they were being pushed westward, this time into the ocean. They had the choice of resisting or perishing. They turned to Savage for help but he was interested only in gold. Indian labor was cheap; he was determined to use it. This gave rise to the rumor that Savage, with his domination over the Indians, was playing them against the whites for his own gain.[14]

As more miners came, Savage associated himself with them. In 1849, James Wood, J. H. Rider, Charles Bassett and Savage mined at what is called Wood's Crossing; on the Tuolumne River he was associated with Antonio Luego; and the same year he opened the Big Oak Flat mining district, all these claims being worked with Indian labor.[15]

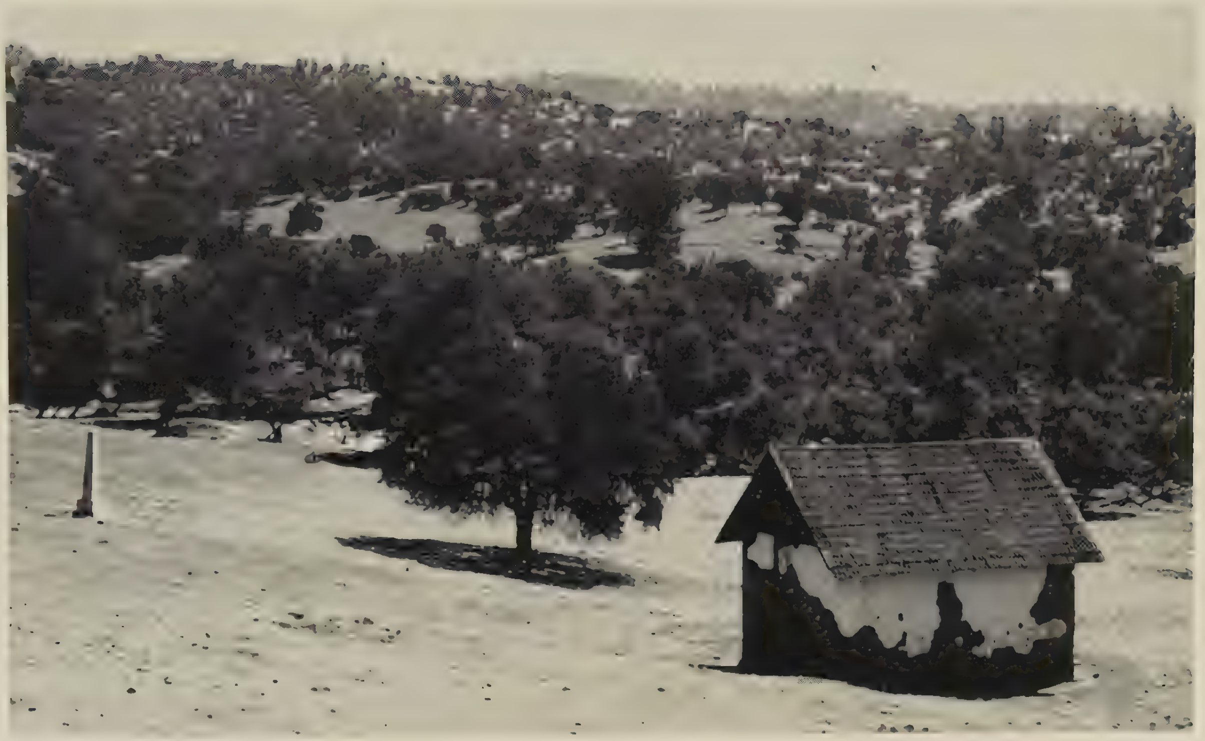
In the spring of 1850 Savage's wives told him that the Indians were plotting to drive the whites out of the valley. He thought that he could still dominate the Indians; but this was not so, for they could not overlook his association with the miners. Consequently, the first raid by the hill Indians was directed against his trading post on the Merced.[16] Fearing another attack, he moved to the Mariposa River, near the junction of Agua Fria, and put up a branch post on the Fresno. In October, he went to San Francisco for supplies and to cache some of his gold, taking with him a large group of Indians to impress upon them the might of the white men.[17] One of the group was José Juárez; José drank too much and he and Savage quarrelled, José getting the worst of the scuffle. The party stayed in San Francisco long enough to celebrate on October twenty-ninth California's admission into the Union. On his way home, Savage stopped at Quartzburg and learned that sporadic raids were occurring up and down the valley. He immediately left for his post on the Fresno River, because it was more open to attack. There he found that the Indians were gathering, and, after he had talked with Greeley, his agent, he addressed them, saying that he knew about the raids and about their plans to drive out the whites.[18] He pleaded with the Indians to drop these plans; the white men were too powerful—they would kill them all. As he talked, he noticed José Juárez in the group and called on him to back him up, but Juárez had been brooding over his disgrace in San Francisco and bitterly contradicted what Savage had said. The latter saw that further talk was useless, so he left hurriedly for his post on the Mariposa.[19]

When he reached the Mariposa post he found that Adam Johnston, the Indian sub-agent for the San Joaquin Valley, had been having talks with the Indians in an effort to bring about a reconciliation. Johnston had also been having talks with the miners. He felt, as did most of the white men, that the raids were sporadic and not serious.[20] Even at this date the white men failed to estimate correctly the ability of the Indians to carry on a long, harassing war.

On December 17 of that year (1850), a strange thing happened. No Indians came into camp for a talk. Johnston thought little about it, but toward evening Savage discovered that his own Indians had quietly disappeared.[21] This was a sign that something serious was happening and, with a few men, he set out in pursuit, to prevent his Indians from joining the main group. About thirty miles from camp he sighted them; they had seen him first and were waiting on top of a hill. Savage called to them across the intervening canyon. Thereupon they told him that his post on the Fresno had been raided and the clerks killed. He was shaken by the news but tried to get them to come back to camp. The chief replied that working in the mines was too hard a way to make a living and that his people preferred to supply their needs in some other fashion; they were determined, he said, to drive the whites out of the valley. However, if Savage would go back to camp, they would not bother him for old times' sake. Since his force was small, Savage decided to go back to Mariposa. This was fortunate, because, only a short distance away, they found some 200 Indians.[22]

By the time Savage reached his place on the Mariposa, a report had come in, verifying the raid on his Fresno post. He set out with Johnston and about thirty-five men. Johnston had already sent runners to Agua Fria, Mariposa, and scattered camps asking for re-inforcements, but the gold rush was still in full swing and no miner wanted to leave his diggings for what most of them considered a private fight between Savage and his Indians.

When Savage's party reached the Fresno, a horrible sight lay before them; the three clerks had been killed and mutilated, the store stripped of its stock and the cattle driven off. They buried the dead and then went to Mariposa where they learned that the Indians all over the valley had taken their women and children to the hills.[23] At last the miners realized that this was no private quarrel but a general uprising. Consequently Johnston appealed to Gov. Peter H. Burnett for state aid.[24] Meanwhile Savage and James Burney, sheriff of Mariposa County, raised a company of seventy-four men who met on January 6, 1851, near Agua Fria and attacked an Indian rancheria on the upper Fresno. While not defeated, the whites were so worsted that the In-



James Savage's trading post some sixteen miles east of Madera, and the granite shaft which indicates his burial place.

Reproduced from photograph by Hurst Studio, Madera

dians were highly encouraged. Burney, in a letter written from Agua Fria on January 13, asked the governor for assistance:

> Sir: Your Excellency has doubtless been informed by Mr. Johns[t]on and others of repeated and aggravated depredations of the Indians in this part of the State. Their more recent outrages you probably are not aware of. Since the departure of Mr. Johns[t]on, the Indian agent, they have killed a portion of the citizens on the head of the San Joaquin river, driven the balance off, taken away all movable property, and destroyed all that they could not take away. They have invariably murdered and robbed all the small parties they fell in with between here and the San Joaquin. News came here last night that seventy-two men were killed on Rattlesnake creek; several men have been killed in Bear Valley. The fine Gold Gulch has been deserted and the men came in here yesterday. Nearly all the mules and horses in this part of the State have been stolen, both from the mines and from the ranches. . . .[25]

Burney then described the attack he and Savage had made on the rancheria, and appealed to the governor either to send aid or to authorize some one to raise volunteers, who would not only be paid but would also be furnished with arms and ammunition.

It is interesting to notice the effect of Savage's personality upon the young adventuresome men who were in the group of volunteers. In a letter written to his father by T. G. Palmer from Hart's Ranch on January 16, 1851, shortly after the raid of January 6, the recruit said:

> . . . From his long acquaintance with the Indians, Mr. Savage has learned their ways so thoroughly that they cannot deceive him. He has been one of their greatest chiefs, and speaks their language as well as they can themselves. No dog can follow a trail like he can. No horse endure half so much. He sleeps but little, can go days without food, and can run a hundred miles in a day and night over the mountains and then sit and laugh for hours over a camp-fire as fresh and lively as if he had just been taking a little walk for exercise. . . .[26]

Gen. Persifer F. Smith, commander of the U. S. troops on the Pacific coast, did not feel that his force was large enough to be effective. Furthermore, Secretary of War C. M. Conrad, to whom the matter was referred, reminded Governor McDougal that only the President could call out the militia.[27] It had been traditional in California that frontiersmen were best equipped to put down Indian uprisings; therefore, on January 24, 1851, the governor issued an order calling for the creation of a volunteer group to be known as the Mariposa Battalion, the supposition being that all of the expenses incurred by the state in quelling the Indians would be repaid by the federal government.[28]

In the meantime the U. S. government had begun its traditional policy of treaty-making. Ever since 1787 it had assumed that the Indians were its wards and had followed the general plan of extinguishing Indian titles, only upon the consent of the Indians concerned. In return, the government had provided compensation in terms of goods, supplies, and intangibles, such as the services of agents.[29]

This policy was complicated in California, first, because of the Mexican and Spanish grants which had to be examined; then there were those persons (and the number was considerable) who believed that they were entitled to squatters' rights upon the public domain, just as in other areas of the United States; in the third place, there was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which emphasized that property should be respected. The acute phase of the problem was the ignorance of most people as to economic conditions in California, which were entirely out of the familiar proportion because of the gold rush. Added to these four complications was the fact that the geography of the state was inadequately known and the number of Indians a matter of mere conjecture—estimates ranged from 50,000 to 300,000.[30] As mentioned above, Adam Johnston was the agent most closely concerned with the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley. He had been appointed on April 14, 1849.[31] On September 30, 1850, a commission to negotiate treaties with the Indians was set up, and on March 3, 1851, a private land claims commission was created. The first named commission, composed of Redick McKee, George W. Barbour, and O. M. Wozencraft, arrived in California in January of 1851; the second, concerned with land claims, arrived later but made no move to carry out its instructions as far as the Indians were concerned.[32] The Indians were not literate, they were not apprised of the commission, and did not present their claims. Neither did the United States do it for them through their agents. Thus, through ignorance, fear, and laxity, the unhappy Indians relinquished title to their lands.[33]

The treaty commissioners attempted to carry out their instructions but only in the face of great difficulty and opposition. Between March 19, 1851, and January 7, 1852, they concluded eighteen treaties and one supplementary treaty.[34] The integrity of these men could not be questioned; nevertheless they, like most easterners, misunderstood the situation in California and tried to impose upon the whites a conciliatory policy. The whites on their part regarded the Indians as lazy, inferior, and without inherent rights. On January 14, 1851, the commissioners visited the governor. They asked for a military escort; at the same time, they criticized him for calling out the Mariposa Battalion, whose members expected to be paid five or ten dollars a day, "thus making another pretty little claim against Uncle Sam, who would be expected to foot the bill." Ill feeling among some elements was increased by recommendations such as the following, quoted also from the commissioners' statement, which the *Alta California* published in its issue of January 14, 1851:

> . . . the Commissioners appeal to their fellow citizens, in such disturbed districts, to adopt and pursue towards the Indians, a course of conduct marked by mildness, moderation and forbearance . . . holding themselves wholly on the defensive, at least until time shall be afforded us to investigate, and if practicable address their grievances. . . . As there is now no furthest West, to which they can be removed, the General Government, and the people of California, appear to have left but one alternative in relation to these remnants of once numerous and powerful tribes, viz: extermination or domestication.

> As the latter includes all proper measures for their protection and gradual improvement, and secures to the people of the State an element greatly needed in the development of its resources, viz: cheap labor . . . it is the one which we deem the part of wisdom to adopt, and, if possible consummate.

The commissioners' belief in a domestication or a reservation system aroused a storm of protest in California. The people were also irked by the commissioners' habit of wasting time. It was becoming more and more dangerous to carry on in the mines. Governor Burnett in his message to the legislature in January 1851, had flatly stated that ". . . a war of extermination would continue to be waged until the Indian race should become extinct." It was beyond the power or wisdom of man, he thought, "to avert the inevitable destiny."[35]

The *Daily Pacific News* of March 7, 1851, editorialized as follows:

> . . . We have conversed with Judge [John] Marvin, recently elected Superintendent of Public Education, and from him we have learned many important particulars.
>
> He represents the Indians as numbering probably 7000, with hostile determination, spread through the mountains between the waters of the Tuolumne and the headwaters of the San Joaquin. They have intercommunications through the mountain passes, by which they will probably be able to concentrate the greater part of their force upon whatever point may be attacked by the Americans. Judge Marvin's opinion is that the Indians must be pretty severely drubbed before they will so far respect our power as to keep any treaties they may agree to, if such may be entered into with them. One thing is very evident; there must be immediate action. Our Commissioners must be active, or a long, bloody and costly war is inevitable. While we hesitate or lose time, the golden moment for pacification may be forever lost. Even since this article was commenced, news has arrived of another battle, the particulars of which the reader will find in another place.
>
> There can be no doubt that the Indian tribes of the mountains have been underestimated by writers and others. The gentleman above referred to says that he considers them as brave as the Mohawks, or any other of the eastern tribes. . . . It looks now very doubtful whether the Gentlemen of the Commission will be able to secure peace before a severe lesson shall have been taught the belligerent tribes.
>
> . . . We believe the Commission fully competent with the aid of gentlemen well acquainted with the Indian character, who are ready to cooperate, to settle the whole matter if it be possible without the last appeal. But if that be done it must be done quickly. The Saxon blood is up, and when it is so, like the rolling Mississippi, no slight levee will stay it within its channels.

January and February had been months of confusion—the commission paying official calls and getting supplies, the Mariposa Battalion in process of organizing. Every day reports came in from scattered camps, telling of new (and, in many cases, imaginary) raids. Savage had been called upon by the commissioners to act as interpreter.[36] He advocated their policy of getting the Indians on reservations, both for their protection and his own success, for he depended upon cheap labor. In spite of his advocacy of the reservation system, he was highly regarded by the men in the battalion because of his knowledge of the Indians and his personal courage. It is little wonder that when the Mariposa Battalion, with a roll of 204 men, was finally mustered in at Agua Fria on February 10, 1851, James Savage was elected major.[37] Camp was set up near Savage's ruined post on the Mariposa, their orders being to keep in subjection all of the tribes on the east side of the valley from the Tuolumne to Tejon Pass. As the days passed and nothing happened, Major Savage moved his camp fifteen miles below the town of Mariposa and continued to wait for some word from the commissioners. Much controversy has arisen over Savage's election to the office of major of the battalion; but his knowledge of the Indians was extensive, nor could anyone challenge his ability to inspire his followers; and the opinion of some contemporaries that James Burney and Walter Harvey wanted the post can be argued to no great advantage.[38] What made the battalion famous was not military exploit but the fact that, in pursuing the Indians, it discovered the Yosemite Valley.

When the commissioners reached Stockton, they were greeted by all sorts of stories of murders and raids. This time many of the stories were true. On February 11, Wozencraft, Barbour, and Judge Marvin left the main body and went to Dent's Crossing on the Stanislaus to treat with the Indians supposed to be there.[39] The other commissioners started for Graysonville on the San Joaquin, where they were joined on February 14 by Wozencraft and Barbour and some twelve Indians, "as slovenly, lazy, degraded and miserable looking as those we see in our streets daily. . . . They retired to the comforts of their serapes, after gobbling up the Commissary's issue."[40]

Wozencraft reported that the talk at Dent's Crossing had been successful in that José Jesús and Packano, two friendly Indians, had been receptive to the idea of living on reservations, but neither chief was willing to go out and spread the idea among the hostile tribes.[41] The commissioners had then gone to Cornelius' ferry, about thirty-five miles from the mouth of the Tuolumne, where they found Cypriano, the chief of still another tribe. Through the persuasion of "Old" Cornelius, Cypriano agreed to go out and bring in the chiefs of the hostile tribes within nine days. Whereupon the commissioners broke camp and started for the Tuolumne, arriving there on the twenty-first. The *Alta California* of February 28, 1851, reported that on the march they

> . . . were met by half a dozen horsemen, who were no less distinguished personages than Major Savage and staff. They had come from Mariposa to meet and confer with the Commissioners respecting the Indian difficulties. . . . Major Savage says that he cannot now form a correct estimate of their numbers, although a year ago he possessed statistics which enabled him to come very near the mark. He thinks that at that time there were between the Merced and Four Creeks, about 18,000 all told, out of which there were perhaps 8,000 warriors, of which number there were about 2,000 braves. Since that period there has been much sickness among them and a very heavy mortality, which has, of course, materially reduced their numerical strength.

Savage advised the commissioners to act quickly; the Indians might make treaties but would not adhere to them. He informed the group that his men were located in three camps: one on the San Joaquin, one on the Fresno, and one at Mariposa; and that it would be a pleasure for the battalion to end the whole affair immediately if the commissioners would give him authority to go after the Indians.[42] As Chief Cypriano had not made his promised appearance by February 28, 1851, the commissioners struck camp and started for the Little Mariposa. This was really near the scene of action, for several men were murdered within a few miles of the place the night they arrived. Their plan was to wait about a week more for Cypriano and then strike out for Frémont's old camp. Meanwhile Savage was camped a mile or so away, waiting for word to chastise the Indians. Even Adam Johnston felt that neither the Indians nor the Americans would respect treaties. He thought that a few forts in the valley, manned by soldiers with an Indian agent in charge, to punish both delinquent whites and Indians, would do more to solve the matter than treaties.[43] Moreover, the Mariposa Battalion was having its own troubles: Indians were stealing its horses and mules; the men were tired of inactivity; and Savage was worried because no pay was forthcoming for the expedition's personnel. He despatched a letter to Governor McDougal informing him that in the past few days eight men had been killed in the mining districts and that that he felt his command could have prevented these murders if the commissioners had given the word. He reminded the governor that the battalion was in need of arms, ammunition, and means of transportation and that the men were becoming very dissatisfied.[44] The governor was sympathetic. He belonged to the group that wanted action in quelling Indian troubles on the frontier. Consequently early in March he sent a message to the legislature, asking that it pass suitable provisions for the emergency and stating that the federal government would pay all of the expense involved. The bill was passed after heated debate, necessitating evening sessions which were well attended, even by "a great number of our beautiful townswomen. . . ."[45]

On March 15, 1851, nearly 200 Indians came to the commissioners' camp for a talk. The plan proposed to them, and to which they seemed to acquiesce, called for a reservation on the Merced River where they could farm and raise stock; and Wozencraft, Barbour, and some of the Indians promptly left for the Merced to select a suitable spot. In the meantime, Capt. John Kuykendall and his Co. A, Mariposa Battalion, had been attacked by a band of Indians on the San Joaquin. Ten natives were killed, and the troops destroyed several tons of jerked beef and large quantities of acorns.[46]

The Chow-chillas, the Yosemites, and the Neuch-teus had refused to come in to the talks; therefore, on March 19, Savage was told to go out after them.[47] He took companies B and C, commanded respectively by John Bowling and William Dill, and started for the headwaters of the Merced to subdue his old mountain enemies, the Yosemites. After three days' march through snow-covered mountains, the volunteers reached the South Fork of the Merced, about seven miles above the rancheria of the Neuch-teus, and on March 23 arrived at the rancheria itself. Through a Chow-chilla Indian (husband of a Neuch-teus woman) in his command, Major Savage sent word that if the Indians attempted to leave the rancheria they would be killed. Finding themselves trapped, the Indians gave themselves up without a gun being fired. The major talked with Pan-Wache, chief of the Neuch-teus, in his own dialect and told him that if his tribe would consent to live like good Indians the whites would not disturb them. Pan-Wache replied that he had not believed the promise before, but, now that Savage had made it, he, Pan-Wache, believed it.[48] The volunteers then prepared to march against the Yosemites, distant about twenty-five miles on the middle fork of the Merced. Major Savage had sent forward an Indian courier to tell the Yosemites he was on his way and that he wanted the chief, Tenaya, together with his tribe, to come to his camp. Tenaya and his two sons complied, but brought no others of the tribe with them, saying that they were all good Indians, that they had never stolen animals nor killed white men; besides, the snow was deep, and as they had plenty of acorns they were living happily. But these Indians had committed numerous depredations about Burn's Diggings and Mariposa, and their assertions of peaceful intentions obtained no credence from Savage, who, with part of his command, pushed through the snow to the middle fork, taking with them the chief of the Yosemites. They destroyed the Indians' crib of acorns and their huts, and on March 29 started with all the Indians for headquarters. The *Alta California* for April 23, 1851, from which this account has been briefed, continues:

> The rancheria of the Yo-Semites is described as being in a valley of surpassing beauty, about ten miles in length and one mile broad. Upon either side are high perpendicular rocks, and at each end, through which the middle fork runs, deep canyons, the only accessible entrance to the valley. The forest trees, such as pine, fur, redwood, and cedar are of immense height and size. . . .
>
> On the first day of April the whole command arrived at the headquarters of the regulars on the Fresno, and the Indians were turned over to the Commissioners. The Commissioners declined treating with them until the Chow-chillas came in, but furnished them with a supply of food and some clothing.

The Chow-chillas had not yet made any attempt to come in; so, on April 13, Savage started out after them. Early in May, he issued an order to the battalion canceling leaves. Then, on May 4, came the following:

> Captain John Bowling.—Sir: You will, with thirty-five of your company, take up the line of march for the Yo-Semite vicinities. You will, if possible, surprise them and whip them well. But in the event you cannot surprise them you will make use of any means in your power to induce them to come down and treat.[49]

By May 15, Bowling was able to report to Savage that he had had a brush with the Indians, killing two of Tenaya's sons and capturing the old chief himself. Bowling told the Yosemites that they had been "taught the double lesson, that the white man would not give up the chase without the game, and at the same time, if they would come down from the mountains and behave themselves, they would be kindly treated."[50]

As commander of the battalion, Savage is given credit as the discoverer of Yosemite Valley. The date of entry was March 25, 1851, and the first sight of it was from what is now called Inspiration Point.[51] Later they camped at the base of El Capitan. Credit for naming the valley goes to Dr. Lafayette Bunnell, a member of the expedition. The beauty of the place made a deep impression upon him and he thought it only fitting to commemorate the name of the Indians who also loved their valley home. Ethnologically, the name should have been Awani, which was the name of the principal rancheria and by inference the name of the Indians.

The beauty of the valley made little impression upon Savage.[52] He was intent on getting the Indians settled upon reservations and resuming his trading activities. He had not gone far in his pursuit of the Chow-chillas because, as was said above, the commissioners had recalled him to act as their interpreter. When Bowling came back from the Yosemite, he took over the Chow-chilla campaign. It had the aspects of a wild goose chase since the Indians would not make a stand and fight; but by this time it was apparent that the backbone of resistance had been broken, although sporadic raids could be expected for months to come.

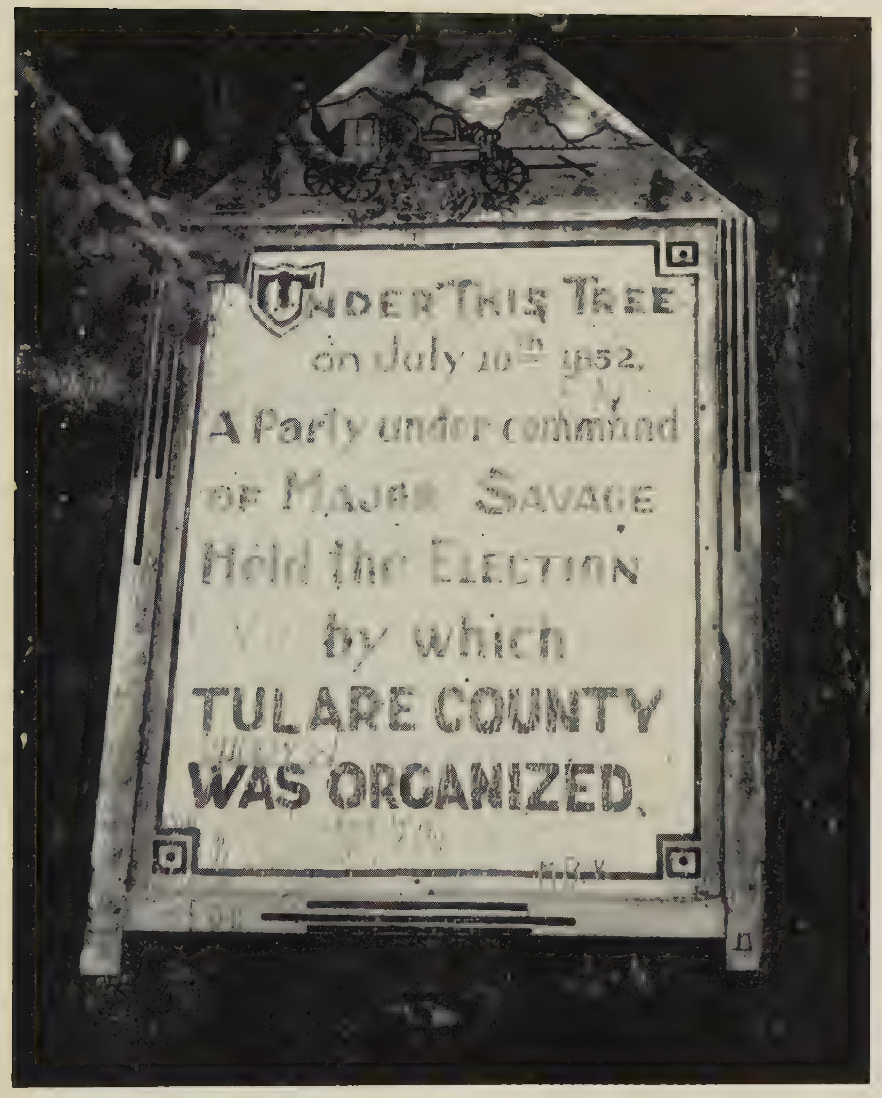
The difficulties experienced by the commissioners in making treaties went beyond the bitter opposition of the Californians and the fact that the numbers of Indians did not tally with the figures they had been given: Washington now (May 25, 1851) served notice that when their second appropriation of $25,000 was exhausted they were to stop the negotiations and assume the status of Indian agents.[53] In order to speed up their work, they divided their territory so that McKee had northern California, Wozencraft the region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and Barbour the area from the San Joaquin south. When negotiations stopped in January 1852, they had met with about 120 bands or tribes and the reservations established under the treaties included some 8,518,900 acres, or roughly seven per cent of the entire state, including most of the San Joaquin Valley.[54] Besides overlooking the bitterness of the miners, the commissioners made other mistakes; for example, the stipulation of settling Indians on lands not previously occupied by them was without precedent. It is certain also, that the men who gave them the padded figures intended to make money by supplying Indians who simply did not exist. After the discovery of Yosemite Valley, Dr. Bunnell feared that Savage was being used by this "Indian ring"—that he was "being surrounded by combinations" which he, Bunnell, did not like. "Sharp men," Bunnell told Savage, "are endeavoring to use you as a tool to work their gold mine. Besides this, you have hangers-on here who are capable of cutting your throat." But Savage answered that he was perfectly aware of the situation and that he felt he would eventually win out.[55]

To return to the treaties—when they reached Washington, the Californians in Congress went into action. Although officials most directly concerned, such as Edward Beale, superintendent of Indian affairs for California, urged that the treaties be adopted, they were unanimously rejected by the U. S. senate on June 8, 1852, and placed in the secret archives where they were to remain for almost half a century.[56] Before news of the rejection reached California, several reservations had been set up and the Indians placed upon them. One of the reservations was on the Kings River, in the vicinity of the place where it would be crossed by white men traveling through the valley.[57] Once more Savage was to dominate the picture, not as a conqueror but as the champion of the Indians. Whether this was due to humanitarian or economic reasons is a matter of conjecture.

After the Mariposa Battalion was mustered out on July 1, 1851, Savage had set about recouping his losses by opening a store on the Fresno near Coarse Gold.[58] He did a splendid business with the miners, who preferred to pay his prices rather than go back to the coast after supplies. A month earlier he had applied to Adam Johnston for a license to act as an Indian trader. It cost him $1,200 but, because of it, he and his partner, L. D. Vinsonhaler, were free to trade with the Indians in the area between the Chowchilla and Kaweah rivers; and also, as a licensed trader, he could petition the government for redress of the losses he had sustained in the raid of December 1850. This claim totaled $25,150 but his petitioning was fruitless.[59]

By the spring of 1852, better mining methods were needed in California. Their installation called for more stable settlements, which, in turn, called for enforcement of law and order; and as the number of settlers increased in Mariposa County, which had been created in 1850 with the prospect of subdivision as the need arose, it suffered a salutary amputation in the setting up of Tulare County on April 20, 1852. The latter extended from Mariposa County to Los Angeles County and from the Coast Range to the Sierra. In it were three houses and some dozen bona fide residents. July 10 was set for the organization election and the commissioners selected to supervise it were Savage, John Bowling, M. B. Lewis, and W. W. McMillen. There were two polling places: one at Pool's Ferry on Kings River where W. J. Campbell was to act as the inspector; and the other was in Wood's cabin on the Kaweah, William Dill, inspector.[60] Rumors of Indian trouble on the Kings River were current. For that reason the men who left Mariposa for Four Creeks were heavily armed. When they came to Pool's Ferry, some stayed there and some went on to the Four Creeks country. Major Savage led the latter group.[61]

July 10 dawned as only a native of the valley can appreciate. By midmorning it was so warm that Savage moved the polling place from the Wood cabin to the shade of an oak that has since been called Charter Oak, where the Mariposans proceeded to cast 109 votes.[62] The officers-elect took


UNDER THIS TREE
on July 10th 1852,
A Party under command
of MAJOR SAVAGE
Held the ELECTION
by which
TULARE COUNTY
WAS ORGANIZED.

This sign identified for many years the "Charter Oak" mentioned in the text. It was replaced on July 10, 1949, with a permanent marker by the Tulare County Historical Society in collaboration with the California Centennials Commission.

From photograph by Ward's Studio, Visalia

their oaths within a few days, but the certification of election did not come until early August. By that time, four of the men who had been prominent in the election had met violent deaths: Dr. (?) Edwards, county clerk, was killed in a fight in Mariposa; L. C. Frankenburger, county treasurer, was found dead in the swamps; Dr. C. E. Everett was shot in a brawl; and James Savage succumbed from the effects of a bullet fired by Walter Harvey, the newly elected judge of Tulare County. The events leading up to the quarrel between the last two men are best recounted by contemporaries.

San Joaquin
July 2, 1852

Editor, Alta California

A few days ago, the Indians on King's River, warned Campbell Poole & Co., ferrymen, to leave, showing at the same time their papers from the Indian Commissioners. The Indians then left and threatened to kill the ferrymen if on their reservation when they returned. Mr. Campbell has been collecting volunteers, many have joined him. Major Harvey left this evening with some eighteen or twenty men. A fine chance for the boys to have a frolic, locate some land, and be well paid by Uncle Sam. Lieutenant Moore has been sent for from the head of the Merced, as Fort Miller, here, is nearly deserted. Some miners are talking of going thirty or forty miles up the river prospecting. They will probably get up another fandango there, as the Indians will be almost certain to attack them. Fresno, Coarse and Fine Gold Gulches have fewer miners now than they had ten days ago, many having left for the San Joaquin, and some on one or another Indian Expedition. Spangled Gold Gulch is almost deserted. The Fresno diggings are almost a failure. The soldiers have not succeeded in getting near enough to the Indians of the upper Merced to get a fight.[63]

The subsequent attack made upon the Indians on Kings River was too much even for Californians who were hardened to hearing of raids upon the natives. The outburst of criticism, directed against the whites who were involved, induced them to write a statement trying to justify their course of action.

King's River, July 8, 1852

As various and conflicting rumors are in circulation relative to the origin of the difficulties between the Indians and the whites, and the circumstances regarding the fight, we deem it a duty which we owe to ourselves, and the party engaged in the skirmish, and to the community in general, that a fair and impartial statement of the whole affair should be published emanating from those who are in possession of all the facts connected with the case.

On the first day of this month, a party of Indians, some sixty in number, part of whom were armed with their bows and arrows, came to the store of Campbell Poole & Co., and had a talk with Mr. Edmunds, one of the proprietors of the ranch, through their chief, Watoka, and his interpreter, in language to this effect: When Major Savage first came to this country, he gave them blankets and camisas, that they, the proprietors of this ranch had not done so; that Major Savage had said that they should do as he had done. Then they ordered the party at the store to leave the river. Then they handed Mr. Edmunds a note, a copy of which is herewith transcribed:

Fresno River, June 17, 1852

Greetings: Know all men by these presents, that the holder of this, Watoka, is the chief of the Chonemne tribe, and has treated with the Commissioners for the lands which he now occupies, which said land, he, the said Watoka, is resolved to hold and occupy with his people, apart and alone, entirely free from white men and their settlements. He, the said Watoka, desires me to say that no molestation or hindrance will be given to white men traveling through this country, but that he is determined to prevent all encroachments on his people's land.

James D. Savage

Mr. Edmunds and a hired man were all the parties on the premises at the time the Indians came up and commenced talking. A party of four men came to the ranch during the conference with the Indians. What was said and done by the Indians being considered tantamount to a declaration of hostilities on their part, it was agreed upon that a small party of men would remain at the store, while Mr. Edmunds should go to the San Joaquin, Fine and Coarse Gold Gulches to get a sufficient body of men to protect his ranch from the expected attack of the Indians. Mr. Edmunds, and his partner, Mr. Campbell, went to the places above named, and collected a force of some 25 men, a part of whom arrived at the ranch on King's river the night of the second day; the balance arriving with Mr. Campbell early the next morning. We were all immediately organized into a company under the command of Major Harvey, twenty-five men in all; a few, some half dozen, remaining at the store for its protection....

Previous to our arrival at the rancheria, Captain Harvey addressed the company, and gave his plan of action; appointing by consent of the company, three of the party to hold a conference with the Indians for the adjustment of difficulties if possible. The company had orders to wait the issue of this conference before an action should ensue.

On our arrival at the rancheria, the Indians were occupying it, apparently in a peaceable attitude. The company was divided into two columns. The left, under the command of Lieutenant Mathews was ordered to take a position back of the rancheria, between the rancheria and the river nearby; while the right, under command of Captain Harvey took a position immediately in front. The three men appointed to treat with the Indians, proceeded into the rancheria to one of the bush tents pointed out, and inquired in Spanish of the Capitan of the rancheria if Watoka was in. The Indian replied in Spanish (whom we will call the interpreter) that he was out getting something to eat.

About this time several other Indians came up to the brush arbor where we were talking. Among them one came with a paper [signed by Savage] in his hand, which was taken from him, a copy of which has been given [above]. He acknowledged himself to be the Capitan, but at first denied it. During the conference, some firing was heard at the upper end of the rancheria, by the party stationed between the rancheria and the river, at an Indian who was endeavoring to make his escape across the stream, after being ordered to stop. Captain Harvey requested the commissioners to the Indians that they must come out under the oak tree, immediately in front and close by, and hold a talk with us. The Indian named as Capitan endeavored to bring his men out; they refused to come. An Indian named Francisco (an old offender) was called for at this time and brought out; there being then only three Indians under the tree, the so called Capitan, Francisco, and the interpreter.

It was concluded upon to take these three Indians, recognized as principal offenders in the difficulty, as prisoners, down to Campbell & Poole's ranch. The Indians were ordered to move before us; they refused and broke to run, one of them endeavoring in his flight to snatch a gun from one of our party. At the same moment of time, there was a general movement in the rancheria and the fight commenced.... [It continued until the strategy of the whites won out] After the rancheria was abandoned for the last time, it was decided best for the party to proceed back to Campbell & Poole's Ferry, as it was feared that the Indians might make an attack upon the small body of men left in pos-

> session of the store. Pasquale, the chief of all the tribes upon the river, was expected over this day from the Fresno, with a hundred more warriors. We came back to the ferry and found all quiet, with the additional force of some men from Mariposa who had come out to attend the election. All the Indians in the country from King's river to the Four Creeks have manifested a friendly disposition since the fight.
>
> A party of us went to the Four Creeks after the fight and found some fifteen hundred Indians collected at one rancheria at a grand feast. There were two Americans at the Four Creeks at the time of the fight. So as soon as the chief heard of the difficulty he sent for the men and took them under his protection until our arrival. There are numerous reports as to the dead and wounded. The most reliable is from a wounded Indian who was in the fight, which corresponds with our opinion that there were nine killed and as many more badly wounded. On our side there was one man wounded, and one horse shot. On this statement, which is true and correct, to the best of our knowledge and belief, rests the basis of our action and the line of our conduct. It remains for an unbiased and unprejudiced community to render us a fair and impartial verdict.
>
> Under any and all circumstances, we hold ourselves in readiness to defend our country and our friends from any foe of whatever kind they may be.[64]
>
> Signers of the statement: John C. McBee, William Bourland, L. C. Frankenburger, W. T. Watkins, Abram Brown, Benjamin Bransom, Ira Isoms, Joel R. Brooks.
>
> Members of the company: Jechonias L. Berry, Henry Kruder, Edward Edwards, Walter H. Harvey, Richard Mathews, James A. Moore, G. W. Newton, John H. Garrison, James Bryson, William Bower, B. F. Edmunds, Joseph Cox, Charles H. Weick, Wm. J. Campbell, C. E. Everett.

Criticism of the affair continued by word of mouth and in the press. On July 17, Walter Harvey issued a personally signed statement in which he left it "to the public to determine how far the party under my command have transcended the rules of propriety; conscious myself of having done no wrong, I do not fear the tongue of slander."[65] Nevertheless, rumors of war and massacres of Indians persisted. Indian Agent Wozencraft was said to have been in San Francisco for the purpose of issuing warrants and sending the US. marshal to investigate the attack on the Kings River reservation.[66] There was some truth in this report, as will be seen later.

The officials at Fort Miller sent for Savage and asked him to go down to Four Creeks and meet with the Indians. One of the group who went with Savage says that,

> . . . he visited in the space of three days some twelve or fifteen different tribes, collected together their chiefs and captains, and explained to them, as he was authorized, the nature of the difficulty and exhorted them to a strict observance of the treaty obligations. Never was an audience at Divine service more strict and orderly, more attentive and quiet.[67]

By authority of Wozencraft, Savage summoned a great council to meet in Four Creeks on August 15, in an endeavor to settle the trouble.[68] He then returned to his ranch. It was there that he learned that a detachment of dragoons had left Benicia to be present at the council. When the time came to start for the council, Savage went by way of Campbell's Ferry across Kings River. Here he met Harvey. The latter and his friends were under a strain, for it was generally supposed that the dragoons would arrest the leaders of the attack upon the Indians. Savage told Harvey that an investigation was to be held and advised him to give himself up. Harvey agreed. As Savage turned to leave, he remarked to Harvey: "Captain Harvey, I understand you do not consider me responsible for my conduct as an Indian trader, but you look upon Dr. Wozencraft as an honest man and a gentleman."[69]

To this, Harvey replied that he did consider Wozencraft to be a gentleman, and when Savage repeated his question about his own qualifications in that respect, Harvey answered emphatically in the negative; whereupon Savage knocked him down. In the scuffle, Savage lost his pistol. Judge Marvin, who was present, separated the men and gave Savage back his weapon, but in a few minutes the men were at it again and once more Savage, who had put the pistol in his waistband, lost it. Marvin made a move to take Harvey's gun away from him but was not in time, for Harvey was already firing at Savage. The latter fell at the first shot and Harvey gave himself up.

News of Savage's death on August 16, 1852, created a sensation. The newspapers unanimously regretted it, for public opinion held that he could do more to keep the Indians in subjection than could all of the troops or treaties. The following is an instance of descriptive press comment:

> The night he was buried the Indians built large fires around which they danced, singing the while the mournful death chant, until the hills around rang with the sound. I have never seen such profound manifestations of grief. The young men, as they whirled wildly and distractedly in the dance, shouted the name of their Father that was gone, while the squaws sat rocking their bodies to and fro chanting their mournful dirges until the very blood within one curdled with horror at the scene.[70]

Everyone in the valley expected a general uprising but the Indians showed their resentment only by sporadic raids that were to last until the Tule River War of 1856.

Many accounts have tended to picture Walter Harvey as a broken and terrified man after the death of Major Savage.[71] He suffered remorse, but in the code of the frontier he had done no wrong. Their quarrel was the outgrowth of opposing opinions on the Indian question and there is nothing to indicate that it stemmed from Savage's election as commander of the Mariposa Battalion. A brief outline of Harvey's career after the shooting should refute the claims that he died haunted by the ghost of James D. Savage:

He was acquitted in the county court of Tulare County.

In 1853, he was a member of Harry Love's posse which supposedly captured Joaquin Murieta.

In 1854, he was appointed sergeant-at-arms of the California Senate.

In 1859, he married Miss Helen Downey, whose father became governor of California, 1860-62.

In 1861, he was appointed superintendent of immigration at the port of San Francisco, a post he held until his death in August 1861.[72]

James D. Savage's life was adventuresome. No one thought of him with indifference. He was unpredictable in the sense that his friends became his enemies if they interfered with his ambition; he never seemed to bother with any fine distinction between ethical points. Much of the good that he did for the Indians was forgotten in the gossip and controversy which followed his death. As stated by the *Alta California* on its editorial page of Sunday, August 22, 1852:

> . . . Major Savage, in the exercise of his official duties, doubtless made many enemies among our countrymen; but he also had warm and numerous friends. In his death our State has lost an old and respected citizen, the white residents of the San Joaquin valley an able exponent of their true rights and demands among the Indians, and the Indians themselves probably their best and most influential friend.

In 1855, Dr. Lewis Leach had Savage's remains moved to the site of the old trading-post on the Fresno, where a shaft of granite was erected bearing the legend, Jas. D. Savage.[73] The reader, better informed, it may be, than the casual passerby, can muse over the possible wording of a just epitaph.

NOTES

1. Lafayette H. Bunnell, *Discovery of the Yosemite Valley* (Los Angeles, 1911), p. 273.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), V, 713; T. H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, 836.

3. James D. Savage's genealogy (compiled mainly from letters of H. M. Savage, lt. col., USA, retired), in information folder on Savage, Bancroft Library; and Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger* (Los Angeles, 1881), p. 298.

4. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (New York, 1848), pp. 13, 31, 37, 46; and Bancroft, *ibid.*, p. 528 note.

5. J. Quinn Thornton, *Oregon and California* (New York, 1849), I, 79.

6. Carl Russell, *One Hundred Years in Yosemite* (Stanford University Press, 1931), p. 23.

7. William F. Swasey, "California in 1845-46," quoted by Bancroft, *ibid.*, p. 374.

8. John A. Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary, Sept. 9, 1845-May 25, 1848* (San Francisco, 1939), p. 81; and Jill L. Cossley-Batt, *The Last of the California Rangers* (Capt. William James Howard), New York, 1928, p. 109.

9. Sutter, *op. cit.*, p. 47, says that on May 31, 1847, Savage was helping James Marshall on the "Millraise with ploughs & Scrapers"; on July 1 and again on the sixth (pp. 55 and 57), he was bringing down lumber (shingles and planks) from the mountains; Sept. 23 (p. 80), he was reported as having arrived at the fort from San Jose with Thomas Fallon; and p. 81 records Sutter's receipt of "the Fremont Cattle from J. D. Savage, 150 head in all small and large," on Sept. 27, 1847.

10. J. M. Hutchings, *Guide to the Yosemite Valley* (New York, 1871), p. 64. Of the five native women who were said to have been his wives, the names of only two, Ee-ki-no and Ho-Mut, have been recorded.

11. Bell, *loc. cit.*

12. 32d Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 2 (hereinafter called Ser. 636), pp. 493-98, G. W. Barbour, San Francisco, July 28, 1851, to Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs; especially pp. 494 and 496, regarding territory occupied by Tulare and San Joaquin Indians. See also Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

13. Robert W. Kenny, *History and Proposed Settlement Claims of California Indians* (Sacramento, 1944), pp. 8, 9.

14. Cossley-Batt, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 115.

15. Hittell, *ibid.*, p. 129.

16. Hutchings, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

18. Bunnell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

20. Cossley-Batt, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-20, transcribes Adam Johnston's letter to Peter Burnett, dated San Jose, Jan. 2, 1851.

21. *Alta California*, Jan. 3, 1851, under INDIAN DISTURBANCES; article is signed by "Arpad."

22. *Idem.*

23. Cossley-Batt, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

24. *Loc. cit.*

25. James Burney's letter of Jan. 13, 1851, to the governor is given in full in *California Assembly Journal*, 1851, pp. 943-45; see also J. M. Bondurant, county judge, and Richard H. Daly, county att'y, to the governor (and concurred in by David Easton and seventy others), commending Burney's character, *ibid.*, p. 943.

26. Bunnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-33.

27. 33d Cong., spec. sess., S. Ex. Doc. 4 (hereinafter called Ser. 688), p. 196, Adam Johnston, Merced Indian Reservation, Oct. 8, 1851, writing to Luke Lea, cited law of 1832 with respect to fact that only the President could call out the militia. But see D. P. Baldwin, member committee on Indian affairs, to speaker of Assembly, Jan. 22, 1851, regarding protection of people of Mariposa County, *Calif. As. Journ.*, *op. cit.*, p. 966, where the right of the governor to call out militia "by an order to the Sheriff . . ." is set forth.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 941-42; also p. 1141, where the state would be under the necessity of negotiating a loan to defray expenses, ". . . in the absence of adequate provision being made by the general government."

29. Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

30. Wozencraft to Lea, San Francisco, Sept. 30, 1851, Ser. 688, *op. cit.*, p. 188; see also *Alta California*, Jan. 6, 1851, under INDIAN DIFFICULTIES.

31. William H. Ellison, "Federal Indian Policy in California, 1846-1860," Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. Calif., 1919.

32. *Idem.*

33. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley, 1948), pp. 15, 16.

34. Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

35. *California Senate Journal*, 1851, pp. 14-15.

36. *Alta California*, Feb. 28, 1851. The escort under Captain Stoneman, assigned to accompany the commissioners, consisted of 25 men, as reported by Wozencraft from Camp Norris, Sacramento Valley, to Luke Lea on July 12, 1851. (Ser. 636, *op. cit.*, p. 490.)

37. *Alta California*, Feb. 28, 1851.

38. *Idem.*

39. *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1851.

40. *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1851.

41. *Idem.* Wozencraft's diagnosis of the character of the California Indians and how the reservation idea appeared to him, are presented in his letter to Lea from San Francisco on May 14, 1851. (Ser. 636, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-88.)

42. *Alta California*, Feb. 28, 1851.

43. Johnston to Lea (as in note 27 above). On the preceding Aug. 4, he had written to Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock, in command of the Pacific Division, that he "must therefore urge the necessity of having a few troops placed within my control." (*Ibid.*, p. 200.)

44. *Alta California*, March 13, 1851.
45. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1851.
46. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1851.
47. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1851.
48. *Idem.*
49. Wallace W. Elliott, *History of Fresno County* (San Francisco, 1881), pp. 179, 180.
50. *Alta California*, June 12, 1851.
51. Bunnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93. An idea of the size of Savage's trading operations may be obtained from an item in his favor to the amount of $4,278.80, for having supplied flour for distribution to the Indians, which appears in Wozencraft's tabulation of disbursements. (Ser. 688, *op. cit.*, p. 398.)
53. Ellison, as in note 31 above.
54. Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
55. Bunnell, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
56. Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
57. *San Joaquin Republican*, July 24, 1852.
58. Cossley-Batt, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
59. Ser. 688, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101 (license); pp. 231-33 (damages).
60. Kathleen Small, *History of Tulare County* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 45-47.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
62. *Idem.*
63. *Alta California*, July 10, 1852.
64. *San Joaquin Republican*, July 24, 1852.
65. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1852.
66. *Alta California*, Aug. 12, 1852.
67. *San Joaquin Republican*, July 21, 1852.
68. *Alta California*, Aug. 12, 1852.
69. San Francisco *Daily Herald*, Sept. 3, 1852.
70. *Idem.* Wozencraft, writing to E. F. Beale, sup't. Indian affairs of Calif., on Sept. 9, 1852, from San Francisco, called Major Savage's death "a sad calamity . . . he was a benefactor in his limited sphere; his place will long remain unoccupied." (Ser. 688, *op. cit.*, p. 401.)
71. Small, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
72. *Alta California*, Aug. 18, 1861.
73. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Documentary

Monterey March 15. 1847

F. D. Atherton Esq. [at Valparaiso, Chile]
Dear Sir,

Your two letters by the Independence [U.S. man-of-war] I have received. I let Genl M. G. Vallejo have last Octobr a french draft of $500. for you, to send by Capt Bonnet of the French Ship "Lyon" [a transport].[*]

Your brother [Robert] arrived here during my absence (see papers, No. 28 & 29). and went north. I sent for him & engaged him as a clerk. I send you a file of Newspapers as a subscriber, I really cannot write you much now. if I could have obtained my pay last month, from the Squadron, Capt. [John] Paty & myself would have sent the "Don Quixote" to your port.[**]

Commodore Stockton with Col Fremont (under the former) owe 300.000$ in California; they have no money[†] & up to Feby. when I left the Commodore, in San Diego, he would not sell drafts at a discount: he sent the "Erik" [*Erie*] to Callao for 100.000$. Capt. [Chas. C.] Turner thinking he had not time to be at Panama by the 20th Jany for the Dec. mail did not go for the money: the Farmer Mechanic Rifleman & merchants, are therefore without pay. My house has nearly 20.000$ against govnt & on $8000 we are paying 2 p ct. pr month borrowed money. Comd [James] Biddle will have nothing to do with the debts.[††] We look for Commodore Stockton & Col Fremont daily.

Goods are almost as dear as ever. at the south they are the same, yet these may soon be up but prices are very uncertain for the next six months.

If you would send a cargo of 15 to 20.000$—(Vessel and cargo insured) to California, selecting yourself mostly, Wines, Brandys, Groceries, Shoes and clothing, & some Bread and Flour, some Dry Goods, I will be concerned in half of the risk, profits and loss.

I remain With much respect,
Your most obdt. svt. Thomas O. Larkin [signed]

(Original in collection of A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.)

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[*] See A. P. Nasatir, "The French Consulate In California, 1843-1856," for Moerenhout's letter to Paris, March 31, 1847, regarding necessity of long credits in California; and also mention of *Le Lion* and Capt. Bonnet, this Quarterly, XII (Dec. 1933), 347-48.

[**] James Biddle, com'g Pacific squadron, U.S. ship *Columbus*, writing from Monterey, March 6, 1847, to Larkin, stated that the blockade of the Mexican west coast had been revoked and that the "Hawaiian Barque Don Quixote is at liberty to go to San Blas or Acapulco and return to this port." ("Larkin Documents," Bancroft Library, V, 85.) For picture of vessel and account of Capt. Paty, see this Quarterly, Dec. 1935, pp. 291 ff.

[†] A. H. Gillespie, writing from Los Angeles, March 5, 1847, to Larkin, comments on ". . . the great scarcity of money in this quarter, unless obtained at an enormous discount. . . ." ("Larkin Docs." *op. cit.*, V, 65).

[††] See 30th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 559 ff. regarding disbursement, on public account, of moneys collected at ports (as of April 3, 1847). See also H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), V, 572, n. 39, quoting Biddle's orders to collectors that nothing but specie, treasury notes, or drafts are to be received for duties.

Chinese and Japanese Immigration to the Pacific Coast

By HART H. NORTH

FOLLOWING the news of the discovery of gold in California in 1848, a large number of Chinese immigrated to the Pacific Coast of North America, where for many years, in fact almost to the present time, they largely engaged in placer gold mining. The American miners never permitted them to operate on the richer deposits which were kept for their own use; but the Chinese, being used to small earnings, were content to work on poorer ground which nevertheless afforded them their cost of living. Then, in the 1860's, followed the building of the Central Pacific Railroad where the grading was done by hand labor, with pick and shovel and wheelbarrow, and many thousand Chinese coolies were imported for this work. These coolies were recruited and brought to the United States by the Chinese Six Companies, so-called then and now. When this work was completed, many of these laborers, who had saved their wages, returned to China; many others went to work as laborers in the orchards and vegetable farms of the Pacific coast, at a wage of eighty cents per day and they *found* themselves. These were fine young men in the early prime of life. Their working day was from sunrise to sunset, with two hours off at midday. For a week at Chinese New Year's they celebrated and rested, and also many took a few days off at harvest's end to visit the nearest metropolis. The United States census of 1880 showed that about every third male adult in California was a Chinese. Of reputable Chinese women there were only a few, and these were mostly the wives of merchants and other non-laboring classes. After Chinese exclusion went into effect in 1882, death and return to China gradually lessened the Chinese population, and, as they became fewer, their wages went up so that by the time of the second Cleveland administration, the average farm hand received from $1.25 to $1.50 per day. Aside from so-called Tong Wars, waged among themselves by rival factions quarreling over control of prostitution and gambling, the Chinese then here were a very peaceful, decent and hard-working people.

Up to 1890 or thereabouts, what Japanese there were then in the United States were principally of the student class; the others, being only a very few, were merchants.

As Chinese farm labor became scarce, some Japanese appeared on the scene, and sought to supplant the Chinese in this work and at any price, first asking as little as fifty cents per day and they *found* themselves. The national census of 1900 showed about 10,000 Japanese in California.

In February 1898, President William McKinley appointed the writer to the office of commissioner of immigration, to be in charge of immigration for the states of California and Nevada.

Shortly thereafter, steamship lines, operating between the Orient and San Francisco, arrived with large numbers of Japanese young men, seeking to land here for the claimed purpose of obtaining higher schooling. They were clearly of the coolie laboring class, with little or no education. Each was in possession of just $30 lawful money. Each stated that he did not seek work and would under no circumstances engage in any occupation other than that of a student. It was manifest that when the $30 was spent these people would become public charges; that therefore, under the immigration laws, they were ineligible for admission, and accordingly they were denied a landing. Other steamships continued to arrive, bringing additional hundreds of young Japanese, all telling the same story, and all being similarly dealt with.

The war with Spain had just begun, and when these young men appealed to the treasury department at Washington for relief, President McKinley sent out the late Commissioner John S. Rodgers, then in charge of immigration at Philadelphia, to suggest to me that, inasmuch as the United States was then at war with Spain and that it was undesirable to have war with Japan at the same time, I take the assurances of the consul for Japan at San Francisco that these young men had changed their minds and that, if permitted to land, they would seek manual labor and would go to work at once. Accordingly this was done and the incident was closed. Shortly afterwards, special agent William Rice of the treasury department was quietly sent to Japan to try to discover what was behind this movement. After several months absence, he returned with information that this immigration was approved by the Japanese government and was recruited by Japanese immigration societies, who secured the necessary passports, taught them the story each was to tell the immigration inspector, and advanced the steamship tickets as well as the $30 "show money."

During this period plantation owners, operating in the Hawaiian Islands, were hard put for field laborers to take the place of the Chinese, who could no longer land there because of the exclusion law. Consequently, these interests welcomed Japanese labor and made it easy for all who had arrived to land, and many thousands secured passports giving Honolulu as their destination. After being landed there, in United States territory, and consequently free to proceed to such other parts of the United States as seemed desirable without any further restriction, they very soon, if not immediately, took passage to the mainland, entering at the ports of Seattle, Portland or San Francisco, and of course had to be treated as though coming from contiguous United States territory—that is, free to come and go without any interference. And from the summer of 1898 to early in the year 1906 many thousands of young Japanese settled and secured a foothold in the Pacific states, very much to the indignation of a majority of the American residents, who could do no more than protest. Many of these young Japanese men, in age ranging from about eighteen to twenty-five years, taking advantage of their opportunity, entered the public schools, and, having had no education at home, had to begin in the primary or at best grammar-school grades, where, particularly in country districts, they sat side-by-side with Caucasian children, both boys and girls, aged from ten to fifteen years. This gave many of the Japanese an opportunity to make approaches to our young girls, which many of them did, often by passing notes to the girls, expressed in obscene language.

As such acts became more and more frequent, they caused such a public outcry that our school authorities began to create public schools limited to the use of these Japanese, and prohibiting their attendance at the schools used by young girls. Whereupon the Japanese started a fierce acclaim that they were being disparaged. In this way they soon received aid and support from many ill-advised people east of the Rocky Mountains, who of course were ignorant of the real reason for the segregations. Finally the outcry reached President Theodore Roosevelt who jumped into the fray on the Japanese side, and sent Secretary Victor H. Metcalf of the department of commerce and labor (this department had taken over from the treasury the administration of immigration laws) out to San Francisco. Mr. Metcalf was himself a Californian and knew conditions here. He came at once to my office where he soon learned the real source of the trouble and made his report accordingly.

As a result, the President negotiated an informal agreement with the Japanese authorities, to cut off their immigration to this country and also to stop the Japanese in Hawaii from coming to the mainland. This was not a treaty, but was termed a "Gentlemen's Agreement." And from that day to this, very few Japanese men of the laboring class have been admitted to our shores.

In 1908, President Roosevelt, having apparently changed his views in regard to the Japanese, sent an American battle fleet under command of Admiral ("Fighting Bob") Evans, on a voyage around the world, via Tokyo. This was intended to impress them with American might.

Shortly after William Howard Taft became president, Japan evolved a new plan to establish a permanent population of her people in the United States; to wit, it was represented that her subjects domiciled here would be better people were they permitted to send home for their wives, or, in the event of being single, to be united with some satisfactory young woman in the homeland by a proxy wedding, a so-called "picture bride."

Now the Chinese originally had few women in the United States, but, after the passage of the exclusion act, they tried to circumvent the law in several ways, the most successful being to apply to the United States courts for a writ of habeas corpus, upon the alleged ground that the applicant was born here but had returned to China in infancy, had become a citizen by place of birth, and therefore was not to be kept out by any exclusion act.

The hearings, held before United States court commissioners, were largely *ex parte*, and several thousand young Chinese were permitted to land here until the practice was put a stop to by the Supreme Court. But many of these young men, having been held to be citizens by this process, sent to China for their wives as, at that time, the husband's status determined that of his wife. Thus in the course of a few years, we had a fixed and constantly growing population of citizens and residents of Chinese blood, and these people and their descendants constitute our Chinese population at this time.

This condition was rather well established by the time of the Taft administration; therefore, when Japan broached this picture-bride proposition, the department of labor at Washington referred the matter to me for an opinion early in 1910. Having in mind the results being produced among these Chinese, I answered that if this request was not considered favorably and the exclusion of Japanese males was made permanent, in a generation all Japanese here would have returned to their home country or would be dead; but if, on the other hand, a permanent population of these people was desired, no better method could be found than that suggested. Landing a large number of fecund young females would surely produce a large number of citizens by right of birth and of Japanese blood.

Soon after this episode, I resigned from the immigration service, but "picture brides" were admitted by the thousands for about ten years. The Pacific states protested without avail, passed alien land laws and variously tried to arouse the American people to an understanding of what was going on. When Congress adopted the quota system for the regulation of foreign immigration and did not include orientals therein, Japan violently protested that such action was an affront and caused a loss of "face." But when Japan went so far as to intimate that such omission might constitute a cause for war, our Congress promptly acted and passed the law excluding all aliens ineligible to citizenship, thus ending the immigration to this country of Japanese nationals other than those of the non-laboring classes.

This "insult" and "loss of face" caused much adverse criticism by well-meaning but ill-informed people, particularly by those living on the Atlantic coast. And during the last war those same people were bitter against the military for collecting those of Japanese blood in concentration camps as a war measure.

From the report transcribed below, there can be little doubt that this migration to our shores was deliberately planned in all its steps.

Treasury Department, Bureau of Immigration,
Washington, D. C., October 24, 1898

The Honorable, The Secretary of the Treasury
(Through the Commissioner-General of Immigration)
Sir:

As the result of our joint investigation and experience, we beg leave to report as follows regarding Japanese immigration to the United States through the various ports of entry situated on the Pacific Coast.

The immigration of Japanese is substantially divided into three classes, viz.: The first are persons of means who come to the United States, usually as cabin passengers, for the purpose of travel, education, or of large mercantile venture. To this class there can be no particular objection.

The second is composed of a lower element of the Japanese population, but who are possessed of sufficient means to pay their own expenses to this country, and who are well able to look out for themselves after their arrival here. As a rule, we do not come into any special conflict with these people.

The third, and by far the largest, class, is composed of immigrants who, we believe, are recruited by the so-called "Imin," or Japanese Immigration Companies, which are organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of Japan and who, we are informed, are recognized and given due standing by the Japanese government.

Of these companies we are informed there are about seven in number, the names of the four principal ones being Kosi Imin Kawaisha; Nihon Gashi Imin Kawaisha; Hiroshima Imin Kawaisha; and Kobe Imin Kawaisha.

According to the best of our information, a memorandum of agreement is entered into by the immigrant with these companies, consideration on his part being a fee of 10 yen or thereabouts. Also, an agreement is made by the immigrant to purchase his supplies in this country from the various agencies of the societies located here, the principal feature of the agreement being that the immigrant offered himself as a laborer and the company guaranteed to him that they would secure all the necessary preliminary papers, including his passport, which is always required by the Japanese government before one of its subjects is permitted to leave Japan, and that they would do everything to secure him suitable employment upon arriving in this country.

We also understand that, whether it is actually a part of the agreement or not, at least the effect is on the mind of the immigrant that he is guaranteed not only employment in this country at what is to him high wages, but that he is also to be cared for, not only until such employment is furnished him, but in case sickness or trouble of any kind may come upon him he is to receive the utmost protection from the society.

In many cases there is reasonable ground for the inference that "show money" to the amount of $30 or more is furnished the immigrant, to be exhibited to the immigration inspectors and subsequently returned to the agents of the immigration company in the United States, by the immigrant.

In the United States, particularly in San Francisco, there are numerous Japanese boarding houses, so called, which we believe to be the local agencies of the various immigration companies. We believe that the keepers of these boarding houses are actively engaged throughout the Pacific Coast, in looking for possible employment for their countrymen in every ordinary capacity, as follows: As laborers on railroads; in sugar beet fields and factories; in all kinds of orcharding and agricultural work; as hotel and boarding house servants; and in fact in every common capacity. That whenever it is found that a certain number can be thus provided for, word is sent to the immigration society in Japan to send over the number of immigrants who can be thus placed. Thereupon the immigration society through its "runners" (who are composed of hotel keepers in Japanese cities) and employment agents and others who come in contact with the laboring class, gather together, from the rural provinces principally, the required number. When they are thus gotten together, the immigration company makes application to the Japanese government for passports, which are furnished without any action on the part of the immigrants. If possible, the immigration companies require the immigrant to furnish guarantors who will be responsible for the worthiness of the immigrant, to the immigration company, and who will pay the fees of the immigration company, and, whenever it can be done, who furnish the immigrant with his passage money, although we believe that these preliminaries are not necessarily pre-requisites with the immigration company; that is, where they are compelled to do so, they will advance the necessary funds, themselves.

In other words, we believe that these immigration societies, by the inducements which they offer, are the principal instigators of Japanese coolie immigration to this country; that the system adopted by the societies is not unlike the so-called padrone system long existing on the Atlantic Coast, and it constitutes a means whereby the least desirable of the Japanese immigrants are enabled to find an entrance into this country, and without the assistance of such organizations this class would be compelled to remain in Japan, and by the suppression of these societies, the less desirable Japanese immigrants coming to this country would be considerably decreased.

As substantiating the views contained in this address, we beg leave to call to your attention the "Law for protecting Imin" furnished by the Japanese Consul at San Francisco to the Commissioner of Immigration there, and by him forwarded to the Commissioner General of Immigration in his letter of July 27, 1898, numbered 16766.

Also to that part of the report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the biennial period ending December 31, 1897, now in the hands of the Commissioner General of Immigration, being furnished by the Commissioner at San Francisco, commencing on page 4 and ending on page 16, and also to all that part of appendix A, appendix B and appendix G referring to the subject of Japanese immigration.

Reference is likewise had to a copy of a contract between the Kobe Immigration Company and one Mitsuzo Matsuzo and other exhibits included by the Commissioner of Immigration at Vancouver, in a letter addressed to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, dated May 3, 1898, numbered 16211.

We beg leave to say that while it is stated in so many words in the contract, and while the Japanese agencies in this country have always made a great deal out of the fact that these societies were purely beneficiary and for the protection of immigrants in distress, that not one of us, in all our experience, has ever known of a single Japanese in distress being returned to the country whence he came. We desire to add further that it is a fair inference that these so-called immigration societies are nothing more or less than money-making institutions which thrive by inducing this lower class of Japanese coolies to come to the United States, using these promises of assistance as an inducement.

The Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco believes that these societies are willing to take illegal steps to secure a landing of their immigrants, and in his personal experience he has discovered attempts on the part of Japanese residents of San Francisco, whom he believes to be the agents of immigration societies, to illegally land immigrants, both by sending them information by the use of which they may evade the immigration laws, and also by offering threats of personal violence to inspectors in the employ of the Immigration Bureau there located.

In arriving at these conclusions we were influenced largely by the sources mentioned above, but chiefly, perhaps, by various fragments discovered from time to time in handling many Japanese immigrants. Also from statements made by Japanese residents in this country and, to a considerable extent, by statements of Japanese Consuls themselves.

We respectfully suggest, subject to the approval of the Department, that the attention of the Japanese government be invited to this subject, through the State Department, to the end that all so-called immigration companies or "Imin Toriatsukainin" be suppressed, for the reason that their operations practically constitute a violation of section IV of the Act of March 3, 1891, which prohibits on the part of the steamship companies (and in this connection Japanese immigration companies can be placed in the same category) from soliciting, inviting or encouraging either by writing, printing or oral representations, the immigration of any alien to the United States, except by ordinary commercial letters, circulars, advertisements or oral representations pertaining solely to the transportation facilities, with the evident intent that no other inducements should be offered to aliens to emigrate to the United States.

Respectfully submitted,
H. H. North, W. M. Rice, Jno. J. S. Rodgers
Commissioners

The following is a copy of a contract:

CONTRACT

The Nippon Imin Goshi Co. will make the contract accepting the request, providing two securities which Yoshida Ichitaro who is a free immigrant, having the purpose to land in San Francisco, North America, and get work there following the limitation that the immigration laws allowed.

Act. 1. The immigrant shall complete everything which is needed for getting the passport and must be responsible to pay all expenses that [are] needed for the voyage and should have the necessary money which is necessary when landed.

Act 2. The maturity of the contract is three years from the date that the immigrant starts.

Act 3. If the immigrant gets sick or loses the means to get along, "Narita Toyashira" Agent, will help him and provide him to get back to Japan in case it is necessary.

Act 4. If the immigrant is sent back at the expense of the Japanese Government, the company shall pay all expenses for the immigrant.

Act 5. The immigrant shall pay ten yen to the company as its fee. If the immigrant has a child who does not exceed the age of 15 years, the charge will be half price and if the child is not exceeding 10 years, will be free of charge.

Act 6. The immigrant shall provide securities to the company according to Acts 3 and 4, and they will be responsible to pay all expenses that have been paid by the company.

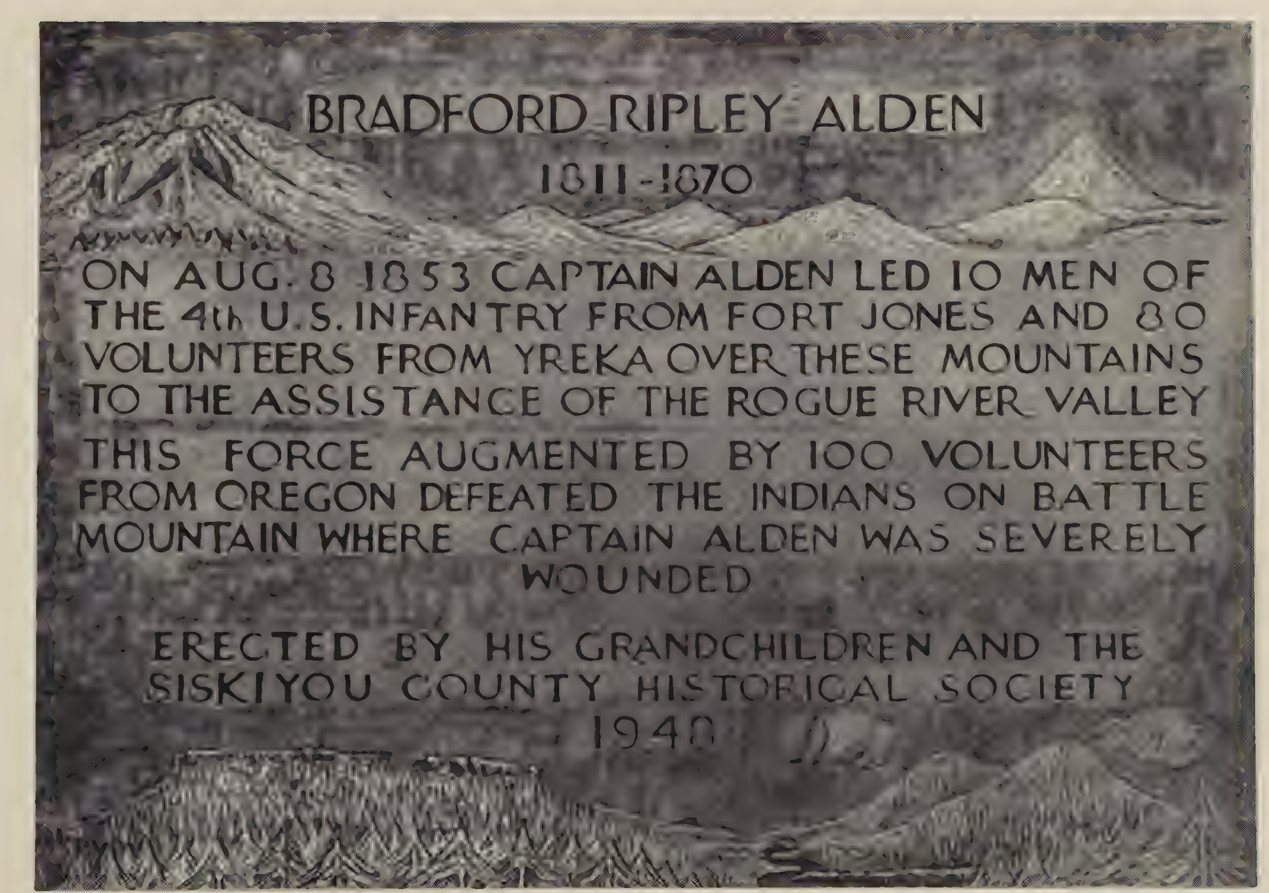
Act 7. The two securities are responsible in all the matters pertaining to the immigrant.

This contract is made in duplicate, one to the immigrant and one to the company.

Meiji 31st year (1898), 1st month (January), 31st day.

(Signed) HAMANAKA HACHITARO
Special Manager Japan United Immig. Company

Immigrant— (Signed) YOSHIDA ICHITARO
Wakayama Ken.
Securities— (Signed) YOSHIDA YOHEI
(Signed) YAMAMOTO KUSU



BRADFORD RIPLEY ALDEN
1811-1870

ON AUG. 8 1853 CAPTAIN ALDEN LED 10 MEN OF
THE 4th U.S. INFANTRY FROM FORT JONES AND 80
VOLUNTEERS FROM YREKA OVER THESE MOUNTAINS
TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ROGUE RIVER VALLEY

THIS FORCE AUGMENTED BY 100 VOLUNTEERS
FROM OREGON DEFEATED THE INDIANS ON BATTLE
MOUNTAIN WHERE CAPTAIN ALDEN WAS SEVERELY
WOUNDED

ERECTED BY HIS GRANDCHILDREN AND THE
SISKIYOU COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1940

Reproduced from photograph in the possession of Mrs. Roger A. Derby of New York

The Oregon and California Letters of Bradford Ripley Alden

(Concluded)

Fort Jones, Cal.
[To Col. W. G. Freeman] Aug. 29, 1853
Sir:

The papers are filled with the accounts of Capt. Alden's wounds. He has been severely, though not dangerously, wounded, in an Indian fight, near Jacksonville, about ninety five miles from this Post. He was fighting like a Hero when he received his wound, musket in hand, after he had fired several times, and was in the act of picking up his rammer, which had fallen on the ground. He received a wound from a rifle ball; it entered the right side of the neck, near the jugular vein, and came out on the left side of the back bone. Judge Robinson [see note 57] informs me the Capt. is on his way to this Post, and will be here to-day or to-morrow; he is able to walk about. The Judge says his wound is not at all dangerous, though very severe. I would write you more of the particulars but the express will not wait.

If Capt. A. is not able to write by next mail, I will. I have written to his wife, and directed the letter to York, Pa.

Yours obt.
Jos. W. Collins
Lt. 4th Infy.

Jacksonville, Oregon
Aug. 29, 1853
Dear Mrs. A.

At the request of Capt. Alden I enclose herewith a line from him, and write a word myself to assure you that the wound, which he received in a battle on Wednesday the 24th inst., *is not* dangerous. We are the more anxious to write instantly on this point as the report has gone forth through the newspaper that it was dangerous. I am most happy to be able to write this and must add that he greatly distinguished himself in this battle leading the charge upon the Indians, which has resulted in their submission, suing for peace. Genl. Lane commanded in the affair being also slightly wounded in the shoulder. In two days a council with the Indians is to be held, which will result we hope in the pacification of the country. The conduct of Capt. Alden and the small band of regulars with him is the theme of admiration on all hands. As I approached this place yesterday morning you will judge of the thrilling interest with which I heard from the lips of a young Oregonian who was in the fight, the terms of praise in which he spoke of Capt. A. & his men. With much more interest did I hear that now his wound was esteemed not to be a dangerous one. It appears to be entirely a flesh wound entering near the neck following the surface & coming out behind the shoulder. He has had the kindest attention, & the best medical advice in the country. He will have to lie patiently for several weeks, and as he bore his wound with so much resolution and heroism, I cannot doubt that a few days will make him quite comfortable. This hotel[57] appears to be a very good one where he gets all the attention the country can afford.

I was ordered hither from the Dalles to locate a road[58] through this country, and hearing in the Umpqua Valley of the troubles raised a company of citizens to repair to the aid of this valley. I reached here this morning, finding to my satisfaction that Capt. A. had arrived here yesterday, being brought forty miles on a litter, that being the easiest mode in which he could be conveyed.

I remain with the highest respect & regard
Your friend & obedient servant
BENJ. ALVORD

I am surprised to find the Captain greatly pleased with the wound as honorable and thus satisfactory, though I have no desire myself to be *thus* gratified.

The labors & exertions of Capt. A. on this theatre of operations have been immense. He has accomplished wonders with small means & under the most untoward circumstances. I have left my command to remain with him twenty-four hours & am sorry I cannot stay longer. I go tomorrow to the treaty ground, & thence to an exploration to the northward of the road.

Ft. Reading Cal.
Cotton Wood P. Office
Sept. 7, 1853

Dear Freeman,

The newspapers of this region contain an announcement that Capt. Alden is mortally wounded in an encounter with Indians about 200 miles north of this and as I fear this *false* intelligence may reach his wife by the next steamer I write you to give you the facts in the case. We have received here a letter from his subaltern Lieut. Collins stating that his wound is *not dangerous*. So he has only been inflicted with glory instead of death, a difference which I hope you will communicate to his family as speedily as possible as it may save them much anguish. Please to mention also to Mrs. Alden that the Daguerreotype sent out by Mr. Trowbridge has been sent to the Capt. and is no doubt in his hands now. I brought it in my trunk from San Francisco and put it in charge of Dr. [Francis] Sorrel who left here for Ft. Jones a week since; it will reach its destination very opportunely. I have never seen Mrs. Alden but I have frequently heard of her and I never was more tempted to break a seal than when I had her daguerreotype in my charge.

Tell her that instead of regretting the circumstances she has cause for congratulation as it may be the means of her seeing the Captain much sooner than under other circumstances. 60 men from Benicia arrived here yesterday on their way north to the region of the difficulties. There may be no necessity for them but they will probably continue their march until the matter is certain. I am very busy and only write to relieve Mrs. Alden and the Captains other friends.

With many kind feelings & wishes for you & yours

I am very truly
Your friend & classmate
MORRIS S. MILLER[59]

Lt. Col. W. G. Freeman
Washington, D. C.

Jacksonville, Oregon California
September 13th, 1853

Mrs. Alden
My dear Madam,

I am very proud to be the means of informing yourself and family, that your much to be respected husband Captain Alden is again very nearly restored to health and spirits, and in a short space of time will again be able either to lead his gallant men to other victories, or return to his dear wife and family covered with honour and glory.

The Captain's wound altho' in a dangerous locality (the neck) is progressing as favourably as possible and I am happy to add will not in the slightest injure either his future health or personal appearance. We have all deeply deplored the report which was circulated and published in the Mountain Herald stating that Capt. Alden's wound would prove fatal in a few hours, but sincerely hope and trust that the report did not reach you, before it was fully contradicted.

Hoping my dear Madam this will find yourself and interesting family in the full enjoyment of God's greatest blessing, health,

Believe me to remain
Yours respectfully
W. H. GATLIFF, M.D.

Jacksonville, O.
Septr. 13—/53

My dear wife—

God be praised, I am on my feet again—wounds healed and am to travel for Fort Jones in two days.

I am amazed at this blessed result and that my right arm is not made useless. These few lines, you see, are quite firmly written, and tell you all the truth. [In places, especially toward the end, his letter shows the difficulty he had in writing.]

My wound seems purely Providential—the ball glided past all vital parts, and only did me a sort of honor. Such sympathy I did not look for.

My escape with life is a God's wonder and everlasting cause for joy. The danger was imminent I assure you. Your letters have all come, thank God, to revive me. Without them I doubt if I could have written these lines—but my ever dear wife and children, thrice endeared now, we are in God's hands. The Surgeon is rejoiced at this success, but stops me for this mail.

Such generous friends as rise up around me I am amazed at. There is nothing they would not do for me. . . .

My best friend who has nursed me day and night (Mr. Dart)[60] will add a few lines.

My dear Mrs. Alden, Jacksonville Oregon Sept. 13, 1853

Among a thousand friends of the Captains we are amazed and rejoiced to see him well and on his feet to day. The reception of your letters and beautiful Daguerreotype which came yesterday seems to have wrought a miracle in him. He took a little walk to day with his arm in a sling and is so remarkably strong that the Doctor pronounces him strong enough to travel to Fort Jones in a few days—to avoid risks he will carry him in a litter and a light wagon, though the Doctor says he might ride a gentle mule.

You do not know my dear Madam, how much we are rejoiced at this result. If the captain would set up for congress I think we could elect him to morrow. I can assure you that no man has more or warmer friends in this region than our friend Capt. Alden.

Yours with Respect
George Dart

Fort Jones Scotts valley
Sept. 22d—53

My dear Annie—

With my wound healed, and in good condition, I reached my post to-day —to the wonder of every body. The only trouble I suffer is from lameness in my right arm. I have to carry it in a sling, and my fingers are so stiffish that, as you perceive, my writing looks odd.

I walk about, sit at the table, and eat all my meals, but of course use the privilege of an invalid—not being imprudent enough to report for duty.

How happy your letters up to Aug. 4th made me—and the wonderful daguerreotype—

But the doctor thinks perhaps I ought not to use my hand quite yet, and so I must finish by my amanuensis.

I must tell you how like a *prince* I have been treated by the whole population of this land.

Full of love and wonder and gratitude to God. . . .

[Written by an amanuensis] Fort Jones, Sept. 23, 1853

My dear Annie,

It seems miraculous that in one short month I should have recovered from my wound as I have, and that I should be walking about & eating and drinking like anybody else but thank God such is the truth. I would be perfectly content to loose [*sic*] the use of my right arm for life having escaped so narrowly as I did & saved my life for your sake. But the weakness in my right arm I trust will disappear in a few months and perhaps my arm will remain like Genl. Scott's. Whether I shall resign immediately or not is a little embarrassing. All my military friends advise me to go home as an invalid and if I wish to resign then to resign at home. This important question I shall settle, I think, by the next steamer.

I think you did very right in disposing as you did of the resignation I sent you. It seems all for the best and providential. I think I shall get a leave of absence and go to San Francisco, in about 20 days, and then perhaps if my arm continues lame I may embark for home. At this moment I cannot positively decide this point for if my arm should recover in a month I would prefer resigning and remaining six months in San Francisco [to] try my fortunes, but time must disclose.

Continue to address your letters to Major Townsend. . . .

Fort Jones, Scotts valley, Cal.
October *first* / 53

My dear wife—

It is astonishing how soon I have recovered from my dangerous wound. I walk about every where, but with my right arm in a sling. It is a great undertaking to make my fingers write, but love does wonders.

In one week I am to leave here for San Francisco on my way *home* on furlough as a wounded soldier. If the Isthmus or Nicaragua route is safe from fever, I would propose to leave San Francisco the first of November. The fever on the route might however keep me later.

I am in excellent spirits, but sorry I have such a poor hand.

I write this dispatch for security. Do not take it for a letter. . . . Please write to my mother.

Fort Jones
October third / 53

My dearest Annie—

You see how hard it is to make my thumb do its duty—I have no one here to write for me but the devoted man who takes care of me and my room. I will try him in *French*—not grammatical French, but mere French words instead of English. He does not know a word of French, and so I can say what I wish—

Full of love—my hand refuses to write a single word more.

Yr. devoted
B. R. ALDEN

October 3rd

[Written by amanuensis]

You would be surprised to see how well and strong I am now but little more than a month after the date of this wound in the muscles of my neck & arm.

I tell you the sincere truth coloring nothing. It is really providential but

I am to go home to you without resigning on an honorable furlough—who would have thought it two months ago. I supose [*sic*] it will be six months before I am redy [*sic*] for duty and where should I go but à votre coté [to your side].

By the first of Nov. I hope to start for New York from San Francisco if all danger of fever as [*sic*] left Nicaragua and Panama but if the fevour [*sic*] should be there I would wait in San Fricisco [*sic*] till it was safe to venture.

I hope Major Alvord letter did not frighten you. He insisted on making my wound as interesting bloody and terrible as possible. I was weak at that time and could not stop him.

How much I wish to write in the freedom of my usual style but am hampered by this lame hand. I am practising with my left hand but as yet do not succeed.

Please write to my mother. I have not wrote [*sic*] to her for one month.

Here is my left hand trial for your amusement. With time it will do quite well [! ?—Ed.]. . . .

Yreka, Cal.
Octr. 17th—53

My dear Annie—

To my great joy and gratitude—yesterday I wrote you a letter with my right hand and with so much ease that it proves that I have recovered the use of my arm. This is a great joy—

I send this dispatch by Nicaragua, and the longer letter by the mail.[61]

I shall be embarrassed when I get to San Francisco the 3d November (now that my arm is well) to decide whether to wait there and enter upon business, or to go home the 15th Novr. I shall resign however. How I long to be with you, my dearest Annie. . . .

Oct. 31, '53

My dear Mrs. Alden,

The reports of Col. Alden's steady improvement have reached us in so authentic a form that I have summoned heart to do now what I have desired from the moment the intelligence of his mishap was received—and that is to offer you my sincere congratulations not only on the Colonel's escape with life, but on the event that put his life in jeopardy. In this, I find cause to acknowledge what every one not wilfully blind must see almost daily, how much better in the end Providence orders all for us than, with the best aids to human sagacity, we can arrange them for ourselves. Had the earnest wishes and apparently well concerted plans of the Col.'s friends been carried into effect last year, he would have been kept at home, and thus have missed an opportunity which might have caused him a life-long regret, and even soured his later days—whereas now he quits the service after an action of éclat, having for some time previously shared in all the discomforts of his command, and having fairly won his honorary title of Colonel whilst leading his men into battle. This is something which you must feel is worth the purchase even by what the Col. has been called upon to endure. I now trust you will soon have to add to this the happiness of having him home again, with the consciousness that he has acquired the right to remain quietly there, so long as no great emergency calls for the Country to put forth her full strength for defence.

I have no news of any consequence which my wife has not already sent you, except that your man John today consummated his breach of faith to Mary Anne by marrying a waiting woman of Mrs. Lee. What a subject for a ballad.

Believe me My Dear Mrs. Alden with the most sincere feelings of friendship

Yours Most Faithfully
D. H. Mahan[62]

Mrs. (Col.) Alden
Lebanon, Penn.

West Point Oct. 31st 1853

Fort Vancouver Wash. Territory
Dec. 25 1853

Christmas
My dear Alden

I have received to day a *Christmas present* from you in the shape of a letter in *your own handwriting*. . . .

However persuaded I may be of the correctness of the step, it was with a momentary pang of regret I saw your name effaced from the army list. I shall hereafter style you *Col.* Alden, as you were elected Col. of that volunteer battalion, & left the army in a blaze of glory with that honored rank. I sent you by last mail an Oregon paper speaking of you in the kindest terms —they rightly look upon you as a savior in Rogue River Valley. Well they might, for I am satisfied that but for your super human exertions they might have been all *conquered*. . . .

. . . Having about the 8 Sept. to write a public service letter to the Secretary [of War, Jefferson Davis] about the interruptions in my explorations on my road [see note 58], I concluded to give him a *full* statement, which I could not do without bestowing ample praise or credit for your important . . . brilliant services in that valley. So all in this quarter regard them.

. . . Genl. Lane's report (which I sent you directing to Lancaster) gave you but faint credit on the whole—although I heard him dwell in a public speech to the troops in very full and cordial terms of acknowledgment for your services.

I inspect my road & wind up in May or June & hope by 1 September to be in N. Y. to report for Recruiting Service—Such is my scheme. . . .

I am pleased to see you write that you are sanguine in reference to the *China* investment.[63] From your meeting Dr. [?] you doubtless learned more about it. He also put $680 into it. I learn by this mail that my nephew reached China (Canton) in *45 days* from San Francisco. I have not yet heard from him. What an interesting affair that revolution in China? Big with great events for all Asia, perhaps.

I like this post very much. I am constantly reminded of you here, of our walks, fishing excursion, rides, etc. . . .

Benj. Alvord

In his letter of April thirteenth, transcribed above, Captain Alden enumerated some of the chances he would have should he resume civilian life—"there are plenty of occupations out of the army as honorable, such as . . . expressing oil or dipping into a sugar refinery. . . ." The years directly after his return home were spent in trying to recover from his wound, which had given rise to a partial paralysis; but in 1859, while on a visit to the place of his birth, Meadville, Pennsylvania, this idea, in a modified fashion, took shape. While there he became convinced of western Pennsylvania's petroleum resources. Explorations, during which over forty artesian wells were sunk to depths of 600-700 feet under his direction, showed the correctness of his views, and his success in this and in real-estate investment enabled him and his family to live in much comfort. In 1861 at the news of civil war, Captain Alden tried to re-enter the army but the trouble in his spine made it impossible for him to ride and rendered him, during the later years of his life, an invalid. This might have been avoided under modern methods of surgery. However, if one recalls his admonition to his wife in his letter of April twenty-first to cultivate a cheerful confidence ". . . with the spirit and tone which enabled Percy [their small son] to take the rhubarb," one is certain that this Indian fighter and man of many intellectual and artistic gifts, as well as humor, knew how to engage his time. His death occurred on September 10, 1870, at Newport, at the age of fifty-nine.

NOTES

57. This was Robinson House, described in the Shasta *Courier* of Oct. 15, 1853, as "probably the largest hotel north of Marysville." It was said to be owned and kept by Dr. Jesse Robinson, formerly of Shasta City. The new item was occasioned by a visit of local business men to Jacksonville, which they found "much better built than we expected."

58. Lane (*op. cit.*, p. 37) said he had "advised with Major Alvord, who was then present, engaged in the location of the road from Myrtle Creek to Camp Stewart [Stuart?], and immediately proceeded . . . to the scene of the hostilities."

59. Capt. Morris S. Miller was attached to the Pacific division, 1852-55. (Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 763.)

60. George Dart was one of the commissioners of military affairs appointed by Captain Alden at the outset of the struggle near Jacksonville. The others, as named by Lane (*op. cit.*, pp. 40-41) were Edward Shiel, Richard Dugan, and L. A. Davis (whom Bancroft, *Oregon*, II, 314, n. 11, calls L. A. Loomis). They were said by Alden in his report to be "gentlemen having the confidence of the community."

61. See Ernest A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers* (San Francisco, 1938), pp. 316 ff., for

an illustrated account of the hand-stamped covers of express and similar agencies—the "letter-bag operators."

62. Dennis Hart Mahan (b. New York, 1802; d. Hudson River, 1871), was professor of military engineering at the time that Captain Alden was commandant of cadets at West Point. The account in Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, No. 361, pp. 319-25, includes a discussion of Mahan's books on fortifications, industrial drawing, descriptive geometry (which he wrote in 1853), etc. If his technical style followed the grace and originality of this letter to Mrs. Alden, no West Point student would have gone unillumined from his classes.

63. With the possibility of applying steam to the time factor in crossing the Pacific, the Orient as seen from California began to take on an immensity of commercial size way beyond its dimension under sailing ships. On Oct. 31, 1850, the *Daily Pacific News* printed this item: " Notes on China.—Since we have become neighbors to the Chinese . . . we desire to know more of them." Some three months later (Feb. 19, 1851), Ambrose W. Thompson wrote to Frederick P. Stanton, chairman of the committee on naval affairs of the House of Representatives, proposing to build ten steamships of not less than 3000 tons burthen, for the construction, equipment and armament of which he proposed that the government should issue "a six per cent stock redeemable in ten years." These ships were to constitute "a line of mail steamers between California and China, and between Philadelphia and Norfolk, Va., and Europe." Thompson believed that steamers could regularly make the voyage from San Francisco to China in twenty days. (Alvord, Captain Alden's correspondent, here mentions "*45 days*" under sails.) In the spring of 1853, Thompson renewed his proposition in a memorial to both houses of Congress. This time he suggested six instead of ten steamships. They were to be built as "war steamers." He pointed out that the ports of the west were "open to the reception of that Asian commerce which made Tyre and Alexandria, Genoa and Venice in their succession, the markets of the world. . . . San Francisco waits but a steam connection with China, to enable her to surpass their commercial grandeur." (Reprints of Thompson's memorials are in Collection of this Society.)

It is understandable why Alvord and Alden found Far Eastern news of such interest. But it was not until 1865 that a steamship line, carrying the mails monthly between San Francisco and Chinese ports, was authorized by Congress, and not until 1867 that it was placed in operation. (Bancroft, *California*, VII, 342-43.) The Shasta *Courier*, in an inland valley, kept in touch with such matters: On Oct. 22, 1853, it reported that San Francisco papers had received full files of Hongkong journals to Aug. 20th; the political news from China was discussed—"the Tartar dynasty has certainly passed away"; Commodore Perry's visit to Jeddo was mentioned and the fact noted that he had "delivered a letter from President Pierce to the officers of his Imperial contemporary, the ruler of Niphon [*sic*]. . . ."

Documentary

San Francisco. November 24, 1852.

Know all men by these Presents. That I Edward Minturn, for and in consideration of the sum of Five dollars, to me in hand paid by James Cunningham, do hereby covenant and agree to and with said James Cunningham, to hold him harmless, sane and indemnify him from all claim, liability or damage, that he may sustain, or suffer, by reason of any debt or debts, contracted or due, and owing by the Steamer Senator, or on her account to the day of the date hereof

Witness my hand and seal this 24th day of November A D 1852

EDWARD MINTURN
p his attorney in fact
CHARLES MINTURN

In presence of
[signed] CHAS. D. JUDAH

(Original in Collection of California Historical Society)

Parker's *San Francisco Directory* for 1852-53 listed Chas. Minturn as steamboat agent, 31 Pacific, and also as commission merchant, Cunningham's wharf, which was said to be between Vallejo and Green streets. No listing for Edward Minturn could be found. Two years earlier (Kimball's *Directory*, 1850), both James and Joseph Cunningham appeared as with Amory & Co., sail maker, over the office of Law's Line of Pacific Steamers, Jackson Street wharf. According to E. A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers* (San Francisco, 1938), pp. 47-48, George Law sold out his line on May 22, 1851. As to the *Senator*, Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle Wheel Days in California* (Stanford University, 1944), p. 56, says it was always a popular ship and a net profit maker. Chas. D. Judah, associated with John K. Hackett, was city attorney of San Francisco in 1852.

The Question of Sainsevain's Signature

By J. N. Bowman

IN the preceding (September) issue of this Quarterly, appeared a paper by the present writer entitled "The Original California Constitution of 1849," in which the statement was made that Pedro Sainsevain, member from San Jose, was not among the signers of that document. Since publication of the above paper, some photographs have been found in the state library at Sacramento which show Sainsevain's signature but are without dates or indications of origin. Subsequent examination, however, has revealed them to be photographs of the last page of the engrossed constitution, and this short article takes up the question whether or not Sainsevain's signature, shown thereon, is real. A name does occur in the space where one would have expected him to sign, but to the naked eye it appears to be in pencil, not in ink. Has the ink of his signature faded?

The problem was presented to the division of criminal identification and investigation of the department of justice. Sherwood Morrill, examiner of questioned documents, inspected it chemically and microscopically, with ultra-violet and infra-red lights, and by means of photography; his determination was that no signature in ink had been made, that no erasure had been attempted nor an ink eradicator used, and that the name appearing on the page was written in pencil. He also compared the writing with Sainsevain's signature in ink, affixed, within a few days of October 13, to the "Address to the People of California." The penciled signature is not that of this member.

The determination that Sainsevain did not sign the constitution raises two questions, regarding (1) the origin of the penciled signature, and (2) the reason for the failure of this member from San Jose to sign.

As to the first question, a study of the signature-page of the engrossed constitution reveals most of the penciled name of Tefft, over which he had signed in ink. Penciled lines still appear under the signatures of thirteen members, and to the left and above three of these penciled lines the numbers 2, 22, and 35 are still visible. Robert C. Woodall, assistant archivist and custodian of these documents, suggested the possible solution of the origin of the names, lines, and numbers, namely, that they were placed on the page to indicate to each member where he was to sign, in order to secure an equitable distribution of the names in their alphabetical sequence. A further study shows this hypothesis to be correct: the signatures are quite evenly distributed in three columns; the numbers, 2, 22, 35 indicate the alphabetical order in which Botts, Jones, and Reid were to sign; and the names of Sainsevain and Tefft, in pencil, point to the proper spaces for their signatures. Penciled names, lines, and numbers were evidently to be erased later.

The preparation of this page for the signature was probably done, at least in part, by the engrosser, Hamilton, since the name of Sainsevain, written hurriedly, bears much resemblance to Hamilton's careful writing in the engrossed document; on the other hand, the penciled name, Tefft, strongly resembles the writing of the official translator of the constitution into Spanish, W. E. P. Hartnell. The alphabetical order of the names is in keeping with the sequence observed at vote-taking throughout the sessions, as recorded in the Journal of the convention. Also, the penciled name of Sainsevain is without his first name or its initial—it was either never written, or, if written, has disappeared, from the handling the document has received during the century. Moreover, the *penciled* name of this member is "Sansevain," and not Sainsevain, as he wrote it on the Address, and as it appears in 1860 at the end of his deposition in one of the private land-grant cases in the U. S. District Court.

Why did Sainsevain not sign the constitution? This is not so easily resolved. He was not sworn in and seated until September 25; until October 4 his name occurs among those voting; on October 5 it is absent from the list of voters, and, on the day following, he secured a leave of absence for ten days on account of illness in his family. This period of absence extended beyond the life of the convention.

The Address to the People of California had been proposed on September 27 but was not acted on until October 11, when a drafting committee of ten members was appointed—among them Tefft. Two days later, the Address was reported and adopted; the copy in the Journal of the convention is without signatures, but the names of all members of the convention are given in the copy published by Browne in his *Report.* Pedro Sainsevain signed the Address, but H. A. Tefft, a member of the committee, did not. Apparently Sainsevain signed between October 11 and 13, perhaps while on a short and hurried visit to Monterey. But why Tefft did not sign is still not answered.

Unfortunately this penciled signature of Sainsevain has been widely accepted as authentic and has frequently been recognized even in official publications.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BEEBE, LUCIUS, and CHARLES CLEGG
U. S. West: The Saga of Wells Fargo. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1949. 320 p. illus. $7.50.
CAEN, HERB
Baghdad-By-The-Bay. Garden City, Doubleday, 1949. ix, 275 p. illus. $3.50.
CLAPPE, LOUISE AMELIA (KNAPP) SMITH
The Shirley Letters. With an introd. by Carl I. Wheat. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1949. 256 p. illus. $3.50.
COLTON, WALTER
Three Years in California. Ed. by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1949. xlix, 450 p. $5.00.
CORLE, EDWIN
The Royal Highway (El Camino Real). Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1949. 351 p. illus. $4.00.
DICKSON, SAMUEL
San Francisco Kaleidoscope. Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1949. 291 p. $3.50.
HANCOCK, RALPH
Fabulous Boulevard [Wilshire Boulevard] New York, Funk & Wagnalls, c1949. xiii, 322 p. $3.50.
JACKSON, JOSEPH HENRY
Bad Company. New York, Harcourt, Brace [1949] xx, 346 p. illus. $4.75.
KIPLING, RUDYARD
Letters From San Francisco. San Francisco, Colt Press, 1949. $6.00.
LEWIS, OSCAR
California Heritage. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, c1949. vi, 186 p. illus. $5.00.
MCGLASHAN, C. F.
History of the Donner Party. Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1949. lvii, 261 p. illus. $3.50.
SHAW, FREDERIC, CLEMENT FISHER JR., and GEORGE H. HARLAN
Oil Lamps and Iron Ponies; A Chronicle of the Narrow Gauges. San Francisco, Bay Books Limited, 1949. 187 p. illus., maps. $5.00.
TAYLOR, BAYARD
Eldorado. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1949. 416 p. illus. $5.00.
TOBIE, HARVEY ELMER
No Man Like Joe; The Life and Times of Joseph L. Meek. Portland, Binfords & Mort For the Oregon Historical Society, c1949. 320 p. illus., ports. $5.00.

News of the Society

RECOLLECTIONS OF TEMPLETON CROCKER, THIS SOCIETY'S FOUNDER

By Henry R. Wagner

I DO not remember exactly when it was that I first met Mr. Crocker but I think it was in John Howell's bookstore, some time in 1917 or 1918. I had heard of him in New York from dealers in American books, and at the time our acquaintance began he was an avid collector, usually buying everything on the subject that was sent him. Most of the years 1919 and 1920 I spent in New York City. On my return to Berkeley in the latter part of 1920, I again met Mr. Crocker and began discussing with him the advisability of organizing an historical society. The record of the first steps taken in the spring of 1922 to reorganize the Society, with Templeton Crocker as president, can be found in the first volume of the Quarterly (pp. 9-20, 107-110) and were briefly retold by Anson S. Blake in his obituary of Mr. Crocker in the Quarterly for March of this year, so I shall comment only on the less familiar details.

As a means of procuring members the first year, Mr. Crocker suggested that I write a short history of the proceedings leading up to the Society's re-birth, and that John Henry Nash be asked to print it; he, Crocker, would pay for it. Several hundred copies of eight pages were printed at a cost to Mr. Crocker of $300. It met with success and we could at last begin operating. Miss Dorothy H. Huggins was made corresponding secretary. It should be mentioned here that she officiated in that capacity as well as assistant editor of the Quarterly until 1944, when she resigned to take a position with the University of California Press. The success of the Society was due more to her efforts than to any other person.

To publish a quarterly magazine was the only object in organizing a Society. Turning it into a museum had been frowned on at the start and many gifts of that character were rejected. Neither was money to be spent in the purchase of books for the library and no professors of history were to be elected as directors, the object being to prevent the use of the Quarterly as an outlet for their own articles or those of their students, and thus limit its interest to professional historians.

When we began to prepare material for the first volume of the Quarterly, the work devolved on Robert E. Cowan and myself. It proved no easy task. Where were we to find something of value and interest to print? Dr. Charles L. Camp edited a story of overland adventure by Charles Cardinell; Mary Floyd Williams wrote a piece on California local institutions under Spain and Mexico; and Mr. Cowan one on auction sales of Californiana. Then we were stuck. Finally, we decided to print an article I had written on the discovery of California and which I had read at a luncheon meeting on May 5, 1922, but still we did not have enough; so we decided to include a documentary section. This device was used for a number of years as it was a flexible one. Mr. Crocker owned some very valuable documents, especially regarding the Bear Flag movement, and most of these we printed for the next two years. They were originals and absolutely unknown.

Like all institutions of this character that are not supported by the state or by large endowments, there was always a deficit at the end of the year. As Christmas approached, I would figure out how much we needed to balance the accounts. The sum required was usually about $750. I would then go to Mr. Crocker's office and tell him; whereupon, promptly and pleasantly, he would give me a check for the full amount. He continued this practice for several years until finally two or three directors agreed to pay part of the cost. Never have I met a man who gave up money more cheerfully than Templeton Crocker. Let there be no mistake: Mr. Crocker and not I, as some of my friends insist, was the real founder of the California Historical Society. Without his social position and wealth I could not have made a go of it. He did not wish to be president and tried hard to avoid election. When I was in Europe at the time of the annual meeting in January 1923, he persuaded the directors to elect me president. The news reached me in Seville. I immediately wrote, declining to accept; I insisted that Mr. Crocker should remain president. To this he finally agreed and continued in that office for several years. Almost always he attended the directors' meetings. As far as I know, however, he attended only one luncheon meeting but did not preside. He said he could not talk on his feet at a public gathering.

Templeton Crocker was the most indifferent—or perhaps *casual* is the better word—man I ever met. On one occasion in 1921, while he was still interested in California books, he said he would like to see my collection, so I invited him, and he came out and spent some time looking at prize volumes of one kind or another which I had. He looked at them with a most indifferent air, usually without comment. After about two hours of this we were both worn out and he went home.

In the early part of 1940, while on a visit to San Francisco and not having seen Mr. Crocker for a number of years, I called his office on the telephone and he told me to come to his apartment on Green Street that evening. After we were comfortably seated, we began to reminisce about the early days of the Society. Suddenly I thought about his books and rather impertinently asked what he intended to do with them as they no longer seemed to interest him. Without a particle of annoyance he said he had thought of leaving his collection to the Society. Then I asked him if that was the case, why not give them to the Society now? He thought a minute or two and said, "Very well, I will." Allen L. Chickering drew up a deed of gift which Mr. Crocker signed, and thus the Society became owner of the collection. Some of his larger pictures had been hanging in the Society's quarters since its beginning, but he had a number of others at his house which he sent down in batches from time to time for several months. The directors had the collection appraised for insurance purposes at $67,000. I made out a small list of the most important books; this was published in the QUARTERLY of March 1940 (pp. 79-81). Shortly afterwards, Mr. Crocker became ill, and I never saw him again. He died on Sunday night, December 12, 1948.

Although the end was not unexpected, all his friends felt his loss deeply; especially was this true of the early members of the Society who had come in personal contact with him. Crocker was a rather slender man, not very tall, and always in my relations with him he was good-natured: I doubt very much that he ever became angry. I have written enough to show how generous he was. In time, he became rather proud of his association with the Society, especially of his part in its resuscitation in 1922. Once, when we were a little short of patron members, I asked him if he could not get some more, as he knew everybody who had money—perhaps the chief requisite. He smiled and said, "Oh, yes, I could get more members, but after a little while those members will come to me and say, 'Mr. Crocker, we joined your Society, and now we have one we want you to join.' Naturally, I cannot refuse, and I calculate that it costs me less to pay the deficit of the Society."

Gifts Received by the Society

August 1, 1949, to October 31, 1949

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From A. A. KNOPF–Smith, Louise Amelia (Knapp), *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851-1852.* With an introd. and notes by Carl I. Wheat. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1949; Taylor, Bayard, *Eldorado; or, Adventures in the Path of Empire . . .* Introd. by Robert Glass Cleland. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1949.

From AN ANONYMOUS DONOR–*Course of Study for the Public Schools of Humboldt County, California.* Eureka, W. Ayres, 1881.

From BAY AREA COUNCIL, INC.–Lewis, Oscar, *Within the Golden Gate.* San Francisco, The Council [1949]

From BETHLEHEM STEEL COMPANY–Its: *1849-1949, a Century of Progress.* San Francisco, Bethlehem Steel Co., Shipbuilding Division [1949]; Collection of historically important press releases.

From BOBBS-MERRILL CO., INC.–Corle, Edwin, *The Royal Highway* (El Camino Real). Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1949.

From MR. WILLIAM HARLAND BOYD–His: "The Holladay Villard Transportation Empire in the Pacific Northwest, 1868-1893" reprinted from *The Pacific Historical Review,* v. 15, no. 4, December 1946.

From MR. HARRY J. BREEN–*Semi-annual Trades Guide and Pacific Coast Directory,* v. 4, no. 7, July 1874; *Constitution and By-Laws of Knickerbocker Engine Company, No. 5, San Francisco,* New York, Francis & Loutrel, 1853; *Annual Message of Leland Stanford, Governor of the State of California, at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislature, December, 1863; Calendar of the Twentieth District Court, in and for San Benito County, Cal.,* December Term, 1878, Hon. David Belden, Judge, [Hollister] Hollister Enterprise Office, 1878.

From MR. GEORGE T. CAMERON–Caen, Herb, *Baghdad-By-The-Bay,* Garden City, Doubleday, 1949; Jackson, Joseph Henry, *Bad Company,* New York, Harcourt, Brace, c1949.

From CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS–Adams, James Truslow, ed., *Album of American History.* Volume V, Index. New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1949.

From MR. R. H. CROSS–*Historical Map of the East Bay,* U. S. National Park Service, 1936; Literature from the 1949 Convention State Bar of California; *California Historical Society Papers,* v. 1, pts. 1 & 2; Papers relative to the Reber Plan; Collection of pamphlets about Los Angeles.

From MR. WILLIAM DENMAN–*A Symposium on Andrew Furuseth.* New Bedford, Mass., Darwin Press [1949]

From THE REVEREND SANDFORD FLEMING–His: *God's Gold, the Story of Baptist Beginnings in California 1849-1860.* Philadelphia, Judson Press, c1949.

From THE FRIENDS OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY–*The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo February Second 1848.* Edited by George P. Hammond. Berkeley, The Friends of the Bancroft Library [1949]

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER–McKittrick, Myrtle M., *Salvador Vallejo, Last of the Conquistadores.* Arcata, 1949. [mimeographed]

From THE REVEREND MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.–His: "Documents, Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 Concerning the Native Culture of the California Mission Indians." Reprinted from *The Americas,* v. 5, no. 4, April 1949; His: "The Internal Organization and Activities of San Fernando College, Mexico City, 1734-1858." Reprinted from *The Americas,* v. 6, no. 1, July 1949.

From MR. GRAHAME H. HARDY–Beebe, Lucius, and Charles Clegg. *Virginia &*

Truckee, a Story of Virginia City and Comstock Times. Rev. ed. Oakland, G. H. Hardy, 1949.

From MISS WINNOGENE PENNEY HARPOLD—Her: *Through the Streets of Old Chungking.* New York, William-Frederick Press, c1947.

From MR. ROBERT F. HEIZER—*A Manual of Archaeological Field Methods . . .* Ed. by Robert F. Heizer. Millbrae, The National Press, c1949.

From MRS. EDITH NEWLANDS JOHNSTON—Darling, Arthur B., ed., *The Public Papers of Francis G. Newlands.* Washington, D. C., W. F. Roberts, 1937.

From MR. EDMUND KINYON—His: *The Northern Mines.* Grass Valley, Union Publishing Company [1949]

From A. T. LEONARD, Jr., M.D.—Hubbard, Elbert, *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Reformers, Henry George.* East Aurora, Roycrofters, 1907; *Memorial Address upon the Life and Character of Leland Stanford Delivered in the Senate of the United States, Saturday, September 16, 1893.* Washington, 1893.

From MR. WILLIAM McDEVITT—His: *Ambrose Bierce on Richard Realf,* San Francisco, Recorder-Sunset Press, 1948; *Jack London as Poet and as Platform Man,* San Francisco, Recorder-Sunset Press, 1947; *Jack London's First,* San Francisco, Recorder-Sunset Press, 1946.

From MR. DALE L. MORGAN—His: "Letters by Forty-Niners Written From Great Salt Lake City in 1849" reprinted from *Western Humanities Review,* v. 3, no. 2, April 1949.

From MR. GLENDON J. RODGERS—His: *Our Historic County of Kern.* Bakersfield [Merchants Printing and Lithographing Co.] 1949.

From MR. E. W. STADTMULLER—Our First 100 Years. [San Francisco] Wellman, Peck & Co., 1949.

From MR. JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN—*Official Yearbook and Souvenir,* Ninety-first Annual Convention International Typographical Union, Oakland, August 13 through 19, 1949.

From MR. ROBERT TAFT—His: "The Pictorial Record of the Old West": Charles Graham, Rufus F. Zogbaum, Alfred E. Mathews. Reprinted from the *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* v. 17, no. 2-3, May-August 1949.

From THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Coy, Owen C., *In The Diggings in 'Forty-Nine.* Los Angeles, The California State Historical Association, 1948.

From MR. R. W. G. VAIL—His: *Gold Fever, a Catalogue of the California Gold Rush Centennial Exhibition.* New York, New-York Historical Society, 1949.

From MR. W. E. WASTE—Ingram, Robert L., *A Builder and His Family, 1898-1948; Being the Historical Account of the Contracting, Engineering & Construction Career of W. A. Bechtel.* San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1949.

From MR. A. L. WEIL—Soulé, Frank, et al, *Annals of San Francisco.* New York, D. Appleton, 1855.

From LIBRARY OF PROF. E. J. WICKSON—Aiken, Ednah, *The Hate Breeders,* Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, c1916; *The Hinges of Custom,* New York, Dodd, Mead, 1923; *If Today be Sweet,* New York, Dodd, Mead, 1923; Clifford, Josephine, *Overland Tales,* San Francisco, A. Roman, 1877; Linen, James, *The Golden Gate,* San Francisco, E. Bosqui, 1869; Norris, Frank, *The Octopus,* New York, Doubleday, Page, 1903; Rattan, Volney, *A Popular California Flora,* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1880; Rising, Lawrence, *Proud Flesh,* Boni and Liveright, c1924; Shinn, Charles H., *Pacific Rural Handbook,* San Francisco, Dewey, c1879; Collection of pamphlets pertaining to San Francisco.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From AN ANONYMOUS DONOR—*California Folklore Quarterly,* v. 1, no. 1;

v. 5, no. 1; *Geographical Review*, Jan. 1934; *Overland Monthly*, v. 29, no. 169, Jan. 1897; v. 41, no. 5, May 1903; v. 43, no. 6, June 1904.

From MR. GEORGE F. CORNWALL—*The Timberman, an International Lumber Journal*, v. 50, no. 12, commemorating 50 years of service, and succeeding issues.

From MR. R. N. CURRENT—His: "The Original Typewriter Enterprise, 1867-1873" in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, v. 32, no. 4, June 1949.

From MR. F. HAL HIGGINS—His: "Beef Bids up Beets" in *Sugar*, v. 44, no. 9, September 1949.

From THE NAUTICAL RESEARCH GUILD—Its: *Nautical Research Journal*, v. 1, no. 1-3 and continuation.

From MR. A. L. WEIL—*The Occident*, v. 31-32, no. 2, Aug. 20, 1896-Jan. 21, 1897; *Blue and Gold*, 1895-1898.

From LIBRARY OF PROF. E. J. WICKSON—*Pacific Rural Press*, v. 50, no. 1-26, v. 51, no. 2-v. 54, July 3, 1920-Dec. 30, 1922; *The California Farmer*, v. 3, no. 19, May 10, 1855; *The California Culturist*, v. 1-2, June 1858-May 1860.

From DWIGHT L. WILBUR, M.D.—*The Bulletin, San Francisco County Medical Society*, v. 22, no. 6, August 1949. (In Memoriam Ray Lyman Wilbur)

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—*The Wasp*, v. 38, no. 9, August 29, 1896.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MRS. GENEVIEVE RIX BURROWS—Daily Journal of Alfred and Chastina W. Rix, July 1849-May 1857; Journal of My Journey to California, Chastina W. Rix, Peacham, Vt. [1853]; Collection of photographs and biographical data of the Rix family.

From MRS. RALPH COFFEY—Manuscript note to James G. Fair dated San Francisco, August 30, 1873; Assayer's report of the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company, September 26, 1876.

From MISS ALICE FLINT—Autobiography of Edward Putnam Flint. Oakland, September 4, 1915. Typewritten.

From MR. J. N. KNOWLES—A manuscript copy of portions of Capt. Josiah Nickerson Knowles' diary of a voyage of the "Wild Wave"; Report of the wreck of the "Wild Wave" in the New York Times; Capt. J. N. Knowles' account books for his voyages on the "Wild Wave," "Expounder," "Charger," "Kentuckian" and "Glory of the Seas"; Diary of Capt. J. N. Knowles on the clipper ship "Expounder" from Boston to San Francisco, October 25th 1859 to March 13th 1860; Copy book of letters from J. N. Knowles to Messrs. Capen & Bangs of Boston dated January 31, 1854, to February 4, 1858.

From MR. THOMAS KNOWLES—The diary of Captain Josiah Nickerson Knowles, an account of the wreck of the "Wild Wave" on Oeno Island in the Pacific March 5, 1858, and the subsequent adventures of her master and crew on Pitcairn's Island; The Golden Era, March 5, 1876, containing excerpts from the diary; Photographs of Captain Knowles and Bounty Bay; Flag made by Capt. Knowles and flown on the boat which they made and in which they escaped from the island.

From COL. HARRY N. KRENKEL—Manuscript documents relating to financial affairs of John Xantus, Thomas Tennent, Parrott & Co., Charles P. Kimball, Thomas H. Selby & Co., U.S. Dredger *Redwood*, and United States Treasury, San Francisco.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Documents concerning a debt owed Carlos Bork by William Parrott to be collected by Francisco and José Pellegrín; Baptismal record of Eliza Leocadia María de Guadalupe Parrott y Comte; Four official documents dated 1852-55 relating to Theodor Johannes Lund, in Danish.

From COL. J. M. SCAMMELL—Negative photostats: Letter to the governor of California from General Joseph Hooker, Washington, D. C., September 20, 1863; Letter to Gov. F. F. Low from Colonel Arch. McKendry, Sacramento, March 7, 1866; Letter from

J. W. Covarrubias relative to appointment of Don Antonio María de la Guerra, Santa Barbara, April 27, 1864; Proclamation of Gov. F. F. Low issued at the death of A. Lincoln.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN—Six photographs of Greystone Winery at St. Helena, California.

From MR. FRANK P. ADAMS—Map of Oakland and Vicinity. Oakland, Woodward, Watson & Co., 1903.

From MR. E. W. BILLEB—Manuscript Map of Railway constructed and owned by the Bodie Railway and Lumber Company, Mono County, California. Contains a certification of the line of route.

From MR. HARRY J. BREEN—Tinted photo copy of a painting of Richardson's Bay. Artist unknown.

From MISS FLORENCE E. BROWNE—Photograph of John Ross Browne.

From MRS. RALPH COFFEY—Photographs: Mt. Davidson and Reservoir, Virginia City, Nevada, 1875; Copy of a drawing of Virginia City.

From MRS. FRANKLIN HITTELL and MR. ELGIN HITTELL—A portrait of Theodore Hittell painted in oils by his son Carlos.

From MR. J. A. LEERMAKERS—Copies of 23 photographs of California scenes attributed to E. P. Vollum, M.D., U. S. Army, in 1859.

From MRS. NETTIE W. McFARLAND—A water color portrait of Daniel Wellington.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Six photographs: Julia McAllister, Mrs. Julian McAllister, Mrs. Hall McAllister, Laura E. Richards.

From NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Photostatic copies of cover and plates 3, 9, 11 of *Album Californiano* . . . Ferran y Baturone, Habana, which supplement the Society's series of the original prints.

From MISS THERESE OLSEN—Photographic portrait of Joaquin Miller taken by George Wilcox.

From MR. LOUIS L. STEIN—Photograph: The water front of Monterey from a balloon, 1912.

From MR. CHARLES ESTES VON RHEIN—Three photographs: Clarissa (Von Rhein) Luce, Mabel Clara Luce, Roy Revelet Luce.

From MR. ALVIN C. WEINGAND—Three photographs: San Ysidro Ranch—Pine Terrace cottages, Magnolia Cottage, and Old Adobe.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MISS LUCY ALLYNE—Collection of pamphlets, photographs, and other materials pertaining to San Francisco business firms, James Spiers, and Stanford University.

From MR. MARK LEWIS GERSTLE—Box of ivory poker chips made for a group of pioneers who played poker at the home of John C. Livingston of Russian Hill during the days of the Comstock Lode excitement.

From MRS. FRANKLIN HITTELL and MR. ELGIN HITTELL—The first typewriter in California, used by Theodore Hittell; his mahogany desk; and an assorted collection of historic photographs, newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets.

From MRS. ANNA LOOMER—Hand carved molds for stamping designs on fabric, used by Mrs. Emily Shand Dickieson, pioneer of Graniteville, Nevada County.

From MRS. SILAS H. PALMER—Seven historical scrapbooks compiled by Charles Holbrook including the following subjects: education, politics, labor, health, agriculture, and railroads.

From MR. C. H. RYAN—Three hubs consisting of two Liberty heads and one Eagle used in making coins circulated in California during the 1850's, designed by D. B. Kimmel.

From MR. D. J. RYAN—An account of the Nicholas Skerrett murder as told by Edward S. Sullivan in "Startling Detective Adventures," June, 1937. Typewritten.

From THE SUN-REPORTER—The series of articles "Early Pioneers of Negro Origin in California's Gold Rush" appearing in issues of *The Sun-Reporter* through July and August 1949.

From MR. A. L. WEIL—Germania Life Insurance Co. policy issued to Maria Poehlmann, September 11, 1866; Program Thirtieth Commencement University of California, May 17, 1899; Documents relating to San Francisco Draft Boards in 1918.

From MR. LOUIS S. WERNER—His collection of thirty-six commemorative gold coins minted of native gold of California, Alaska, Washington, Montana, Oregon, and Idaho at the United States Mint, San Francisco; Queen Victoria and California medal, 1897; Panama Pacific International Exposition souvenir penny of California, 1915; California Midwinter Exposition souvenir token, 1894.

Meetings

On November 8, 1945, at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, Thomas Wayne Norris spoke before the Society on the California constitutional convention of 1849, dwelling on the inexperience of many of the delegates, which did not, however, keep them from performing the work they had been elected to do. On September 9, 1949, the centennial of the convention, Mr. Norris was again luncheon speaker, this time at Casa Munras in Monterey, the town where the original deliberations took place.

The speaker has been making for many years an unusually fine collection of western Americana (see catalogue issued by the Holmes Book Company of Oakland, which lists only the items offered for sale, the manuscripts bearing on the early history of the state being retained by Mr. Norris). Furthermore, from his birth and early schooling in Sonoma, his high school years in Salinas and his business experience in San Francisco and in Livermore—where, for over thirty years, he was president of the Coast Manufacturing and Supply Co., purveyors of fuses, etc., for the various usages of gun powder—together with his present residence in Carmel, he has a large familiarity with the historic central area of the state.

Why was it necessary to hold a convention in Monterey in 1849? The place was logical, because it was the administrative center of the province; the necessity was logical, as the then-military governor, Bennett Riley, made clear. His force was depleted by desertions to the mines. In the absence of federal action, it was up to the residents of California to become responsible for making and keeping the law, so that they wouldn't destroy one another. Delegates were duly elected by the method devised by Riley, the aim being that no district should shift answerability for the resulting law-making on to some other district. Mr. Norris recounted, with amusing details, the difficulty some of the delegates had in reaching Monterey, particularly the fog bank which almost nullified the good offices of the Pacific Mail SS. Co. in furnishing a vessel, the brig *Frémont*, for transportation of delegates boarding her at San Francisco.

The accommodations at Monterey were typical of frontier conditions—no better, perhaps worse—but from the time of the first session on September third until the gun (which delighted military-minded J. A. Sutter) was fired from the fort guarding Monterey Bay on October 13, 1849, signifying that a constitution had been born, no diminution of zeal on the part of the members was allowed to interfere with the creative momentum they had established among themselves at the start. This applied to the Spanish-speaking members as well, even if they showed anxiety that there might be too liberal an Americanizing of the country and tried at times to introduce measures more peculiarly Spanish.

The question as to the size of the state—that is, the running of the eastern boundary—brought out the talents of geography-wise delegates, such as L. W. Hastings, Jacob R. Snyder, and others, who had trapped the Sierra Nevada on both its sides and who held that here was no trivial physical barrier only, but a jurisdictional one as well. The question of a north-south division, so as to make two states, was the fruit of the greatest query that had agitated the whole country so far: should California be slave or free? It wasn't simple, because, aside from their personal tenets as to slavery, upon them lay responsibility for the strategy which would bring about admission into the Union. That was paramount—to end the chaos that was occupying the period between the local end of hostilities in the war with Mexico and the establishment of a system of laws that would take the place of interim prefects and interim alcaldes, operating under a military governor who was without categorically fixed authority.

There were the to-be-expected animosities among the delegates. Snyder thought that William M. Gwin, a sympathizer with the southern states, was officious in pressing himself as convention president and his ideas as constitutional model; James McHall Jones, a clever lawyer and a citizen, as he said, "of nine days (the ordinary time it requires puppies to get as far as seeing)," disliked H. W. Halleck who, to him, seemed "a man of no calibre, and intriguer with no tact, void of ability and ridiculous from self-conceit," an opinion which has provoked defenders of both these gentlemen.

From the documents, etc., which Mr. Norris continues to unearth and assimilate into his collection, and from which he selects items (for example, two of delegate J. M. Jones' letters to his mother) for distribution in privately printed form among his friends at Christmas, may come more light on the convention and its members. The Society will look forward to a third talk by him when that time comes.

The paper read by H. M. Butterfield before the luncheon meeting of October 13, 1949, on "Pioneer Builders of California's Horticulture," is scheduled for publication as an article in the March 1950 QUARTERLY, and will include his voluminous references to source material. In that issue, also, will be a review of Col. Waddell Smith's address, given November 10, 1949, on the subject of the eastern end of the Pony Express.

In Memoriam

Morton Raymond Gibbons, Sr., M.D.

On November 8, 1949, Dr. Morton R. Gibbons, Sr. (b. San Francisco, July 16, 1873), a member of this Society since May 1939 and one of its directors for the past seven years, died at Stanford Hospital in San Francisco. On another November day, six and a half decades earlier (November 5, 1884), his grandfather, Henry Gibbons, Sr., M.D., himself the son of a physician and who, from the time of his arrival in San Francisco during the cholera epidemic of 1850, had practiced and taught and written on the subject of medicine, died at Wilmington, Delaware, in the room in which he was born. This rounding out of a life's cycle with respect to place is an instance of personal continuity. Continuity of a related kind is the fact that, from his son Henry Gibbons, Jr., father of the Society's late member, onward, the men of this family have, without a break, undertaken the older man's regimen of practicing, teaching, and writing, as a glance at the record shows.

There is space here for only two examples illustrating the similarity of the way in which the minds of the grandfather and grandson worked in attacking contemporary problems. Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., in his address before the California State Medical Society at the expiration of his term as president in 1872, took up the question of quackery. The state's law-making body was showing a disposition to pass legislation making it unlawful for anyone to assume the title of "doctor" unless educated in the regular way. There was at the time some expression of opinion among doctors that they should actively come out in support of such legislation, but the speaker held that it was a question whether, to use his own words, "it is politic in us to make the effort. Our motives are here to be misconstrued. . . . Should the legislature, representing the people, move in the matter, so be it. We will encourage, not oppose. But until people and legislatures feel the evil and the need of a remedy, the legislation which we might propose and obtain, would scarcely be inforced."

In May 1930, his grandson, the subject of this obituary, in making the presidential address before the same association at its fifty-ninth annual meeting, dwelt particularly on the then-present tendency toward some form of state health care. Reminding his associates that the esteem in which they were held as a group had everything to do with the proper direction of the changes which "many of us think are inevitable," he told them: "We will be strong if we present the unbroken front of our common understanding and our ethical cohesion. . . . Let us make ourselves the best informed group on health insurance in California. Let us prepare our minds to join quickly in furtherance of a sound plan when it is presented."

The assurance felt by both these doctors that acumen of sufficient force was latent in the state of California for the bringing to pass of true progress, shows how each practiced his profession with the aim of creating healthy, discriminating minds as well as bodies; and it is easy to understand why our recently deceased member went wholeheartedly into the work of the Commonwealth Club of California, of which he was president at the time of his death.

As to avocations, both grandfather and grandson were interested in the atmosphere. From 1850 through 1870, Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., kept scientifically executed observations on the local rainfall and temperature, which were published on pages 30-32 of the San Francisco *Directory* for 1871; he also worked out a theory for estimating the rainfall in other parts of the state from the fall in San Francisco. His grandson, Morton R. Gibbons, Sr., was interested in air in a practical, applied way. He built canoes and achieved the requisite buoyancy; he fashioned sailboats, combining his skill in carpentry with his knowledge of the way in which air can be harnessed efficiently within the area of a sail to bring about speed; and Mrs. Gibbions tells me that because he liked historic things, he made her an exact replica of a 200-year old spinning-wheel, with its special type of speed and efficiency. To use Mrs. Gibbons own words: "But really, he could make *anything*."

The compilation, *Who's Important in Medicine* (New York, 1945), page 592, and the San Francisco *Chronicle* for November 10, 1949, give biographical information and list the numerous boards, commissions, and other agencies on which Dr. Gibbons served throughout his career. I have given here an informal sketch of his work from the historical point of view, as it was his interest in the past which gave his fellow members in this Society the grounds for their association with him and for elevating him to the warm place he occupies in their affections. He was a responsible citizen, and a fine friend. I might add that when he graduated from the University of California, two classes before me, he held the rank of colonel of cadets.

In his immediate family, Dr. Gibbons is survived by his wife, Mary Stubbs Gibbons, daughter of J. C. Stubbs, general manager of the Harriman lines; by a son, Dr. Morton R. Gibbons, Jr.; and by two daughters, Beulah (Mrs. James H. Allen) and Margaret (Mrs. Barrett G. Hindes). His writings, as published in the *California State Journal of Medicine*, include, in 1916, "Industrial Accident Work" and "Social Insurance"; and in 1921, "Return to Work after Injury." In *Modern Medicine* for 1919, appeared his "How Can Medical Service Be Improved."

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

Mrs. Melville C. (Annie Rogers Fryer) Threlkeld, who joined this Society in November 1942 and became a sustaining member in January of the following year, died on May 23, 1949, in San Francisco. She was born in Shanghai, China, on December 21, 1870, of missionary parents, and during the early years of her life lived in England. In 1887, she matriculated at Alfred University, New York; later came residence in Oakland. Older members of the faculty of the University of California will remember her father, Dr. John Fryer, as the founder of the chair of oriental languages, from which he retired with the rank of professor emeritus. After her marriage in 1896, Mrs. Threlkeld lived in Berkeley until 1914, when the move was made to San Francisco, and where she took a prominent part in its social and artistic life and in its charitable organizations. Two brothers survive her: Dr. Charles Fryer of Santa Barbara and George Fryer of Shanghai; also two sons, Melville C. Threlkeld, Jr., of San Francisco, and John H. Threlkeld of Carmel.

GIFTS OF REMEMBRANCE

Recent contributions, made to the Library Fund since the appearance of the June 1949 QUARTERLY, have been received in memory of the following, and their names are being inscribed in the Society's Book of Remembrance:

Edward Washington Bender
Hope Bliss
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Morton R. Gibbons, Sr., M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
LaVerne Scott Moss
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
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Harry C. Warren, M.D.
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Marginalia

Biographical notes on the authors represented in this issue who have written previously for the QUARTERLY may be found in the following numbers: J. N. Bowman, Dec. 1946, p. 379, and June 1949, p. 188; C. M. Drury, June 1947, p. 187; Hart H. North, March 1948, pp. 91-92; Henry R. Wagner, Dec. 1946, pp. 378-79.

Miss Annie R. Mitchell is a native of the old mining camp of Tailholt in

Tulare County, where her grandparents, Levi Mitchell and his wife, had established a store and hotel and where Miss Mitchell's parents were born. At present Miss Mitchell is teacher-counsellor at Visalia Union High School, and she acts also as secretary of the Visalia Historical Society.

Following his graduation from the Iowa State Teachers College in 1904, Reginald R. Stuart began a teaching career of forty-four years, mostly in the Oakland public schools. He is now engaged in the collection of a library of western Americana at his home in San Leandro.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Charles R. Barnum is a native of Eureka, where his interests are now centered in the timber business and in real estate. His paternal grandparents, Gorham N. and Lorraina Moore Barnum, came to Humboldt County in the early 1850's. The county which first attracted them has become the nucleus of the present Mr. Barnum's library of Californiana, with an overlap of interest into Del Norte County, western Trinity and northwest Mendocino.

On page one of the present volume of the QUARTERLY (March 1949; M. B. Stern on Anton Roman), mention is made of Burgess, Gilbert & Still, pioneer booksellers of San Francisco. Mrs. William Ely Chambers (Hazel Nesbitt Chambers) is Still's granddaughter. He was born in 1827 in New York and twenty-two years afterwards (Sept. 16, 1849) arrived in California on the *Griffin.* Subsequent San Francisco directories (viz., Parker's for 1852-53) show him without partners as bookseller, stationer and as periodical and publication agent, with various changes in address. Still died on board the steamer *Gambia* at Colón, August 16, 1876. A brief account of his life may be found in the "Archives" of the Society of California Pioneers, VI, 278.

From his birthplace (1871) in South Carolina, Ted K. Clark went north and then west to Minneapolis. He attended the University of Minnesota; then followed twenty-three years in the army. In 1929 he came to Monterey where he has since lived, engaged in real estate and insurance. Colonel Clark is a director of the Monterey History and Art Association, founded in 1931 through the enthusiasm of Mrs. Laura Bride Powers. He is also secretary of the Monterey Foundation.

Mrs. William C. Coffill is the daughter of Donald I. Segerstrom and granddaughter of Charles Homer Segerstrom, former mining expert and banker of Sonora, whose obituary appeared in the December 1946 QUARTERLY, pp. 376-77. Mrs. Coffill is a Stanford graduate (class of 1938), specializing on history and psychology, and has also collected early American glass from the mother-lode region, "as a side line"—to quote Mrs. Coffill. This would seem to be of more than ordinary side-line interest to the rest of us.

As a teacher in the public schools of the state for thirty-eight years, the last twenty-five of them in Vallejo, Mrs. Isabel Porter Collins (b. Petaluma, March 6, 1878) must have seen a good many theories applied to the field of education which in some instances have threatened the underpinning of the "three R's." We have an idea that they are none too safe even yet, despite some recent ringing utterances in their defense.

Both B. M. Eubanks and his wife are continuing an interest in the history of California gained from courses under Herbert E. Bolton and William Paden. This has included study of books and of the actual terrain of historical country, as practiced by these two teachers. But Mr. Eubanks has gone beyond the gold-bearing terrain's surface and sub-surface endowment by following the precious metal into its coinage, collecting examples of same, and studying the personalities engaged in the work.

Mrs. Harry Gabbert (Florence Doyle Gabbert) is the granddaughter of Ole Bergson, a Norwegian contractor of San Francisco, and his wife Augusta Elizabeth Kuchel, daughter of Conrad Kuchel whose brother, Charles C., was associated with Emil Dresel in the famous firm of Kuchel & Dresel, San Francisco lithographers. The Bergsons' daughter Emma married Michael J. Doyle, father of the Society's new member. The descendants of Conrad Kuchel have been connected with Anaheim for many years, Charles Kuchel being editor and proprietor of the Anaheim *Gazette*.

Mrs. Helen LeVere Green Halloran (see new members, Sept. QUARTERLY) is the granddaughter of Theodore Green, himself a descendant of of Revolutionary War stock, who came to California in 1849. After several years, he returned to New York to marry Maria LeVere and bring her and their cherry-wood furniture, silver, and linens to Austin, Nevada, where they established their home. Mr. Green was a pharmacist by profession. The stone building which housed his drug store for many years was later converted into Austin's railroad station. Mrs. Halloran's father, Franklin Theodore Green, was born in North San Juan on May 5, 1863, while his parents were sojourning in California. He took up his father's profession of pharmacy and rose to be designated as dean of the College of Pharmacy, one of the state university's affiliated colleges. His wife was M. Georgia Rooker, daughter of Gen. James E. Rooker of Austin, who was then the head of the state militia and co-owner with Gov. L. R. Bradley of ranch property along the Reese River. The Society's new member was born in Austin. She is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and has held important offices in that organization.

The great-grandfather of Kenneth C. Hinrichsen, listed in the September QUARTERLY, was Abner Bryan, a pioneer of 1845 who is mentioned in Bancroft's pioneer register (*California*, II, 734). In 1846, having returned to the east in the meantime, Bryan brought his family to California, and, upon the death of his wife on the overland route, married Lydia Swain Adams whose husband also had died on the way west but whose son, David L. Adams, aged ten upon arrival, lived on in California (Bancroft, *ibid.*, p. 687). According to Mr. Hinrichsen, Abner Bryan and his second wife settled on a ranch at Oso Flaco, not far from Guadalupe in San Luis Obispo County. Mr. Hinrichsen's grandmother, Mary Bryan, was one of their children. She married Ephraim Francis Conrad and lived most of her life in Arroyo Grande, where many of her descendants still live. Mr. Hinrichsen's master's thesis (U. C., 1949) describes the work done by the Canadian George Chaffey and by Dr. Cyrus G. Baldwin in the field of hydroelectric power in southern California.

Floyd H. Nourse (b. Ohio) first knew California in 1908 as a buyer for the book department of the Emporium in San Francisco, and for many years thereafter he acted as Pacific coast representative of New York publishing houses. Mingling with and knowing western writers has increased the interest he had, already, in the state's history.

On file in the library of the Society is a detailed account of the forebears of Mrs. Matthew D. O'Brien (Elizabeth Glenn O'Brien), daughter of Alexander Glenn and Virginia Chinn Glenn. The wedding of the latter couple took place in San Francisco at the home of Leonidas Pratt, husband of the bride's aunt, the former Armeda Jessup. Glenn was owner of the Columbus Buggy Co. in San Francisco, and of a stable of fine horses to show off his equipages. In 1905 Glenn sold his business to Studebaker and went into farming in San Luis Obispo County and elsewhere. Mrs. O'Brien's maternal grandfather, James Weeks Chinn, was a descendant of Raleigh de Cheyne (whence "Chinn"), brother-in-law of Mary Ball, President George Washington's mother. Chinn arrived in Hangtown in 1850 and thereafter took up mining and merchandising in Sacramento and in Ophir, Placer County, and also held county offices there and in Nevada County. His wife was Elizabeth Jessup whose sister, Mrs. Pratt, was mentioned above. They were daughters of Austin Jessup of Palmyra, N. Y. Previous to her marriage, Miss Elizabeth Jessup had taught school near Colusa. The Chinns' experiences in the mining community of Iowa Hill, Placer County, following the year 1866, are set forth in Mrs. O'Brien's account of her family. Three years ago she was able to purchase back the scales, with their brass weighing pans, used by her grandfather in measuring gold.

Alden Radcliffe, maternal grandfather of Mrs. Viola M. Priest, arrived in California in the early 1850's by way of the isthmus and in 1858 was married to Elizabeth Gross, who had traveled west by the same route. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. E. S. Lacey of the First Congregational Church in San Francisco. Mrs. Priest's paternal grandfather, William Cooke, and his wife, the former Lucy Rutledge, came overland from Iowa in 1852 and spent most of their lives in Dutch Flat, Placer Co., where Mrs. Priest's parents as well as she herself were born. Her grandmother Cooke's letters, *Crossing the Plains in 1852*, were set in type by the students of Frank W. Cooke, professor of journalism at the Modesto High School, and were bound into a booklet for limited distribution. Supplementing Mrs. Priest's natural interest in the state has been her typing of "literally hundreds" of theses written by the pupils of Herbert E. Bolton; and the same services were performed for some of Dr. Bolton's own writings preparatory to publication.

We had in mind the new president of Stanford University when we wrote above that there had been ringing utterances lately in defense of what the "three R's" stand for. During exercises in connection with his inauguration, October 6-7, 1949, J. E. Wallace Sterling (Ph.D., Stanford, 1938), spoke out boldly in favor of thoroughness in the successive stages we must go through if we want to be civilized—disciplined in character as well as in knowledge. Dr. Sterling was born in 1906 in Linwood, Ontario, Canada. He received his education and taught in Canada until 1935-37 when he joined the staff of the Hoover war library at Stanford. Thereafter he taught history at the California Institute of Technology, interspersing his teaching with writing on Canadian and British affairs and acting as news analyst for the Columbia Broadcasting Co. Just prior to election to his present high office he was serving as director of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Howard Van Arsdale Smith's maternal grandfather, J. A. Van Arsdale, and his wife crossed the plains in 1862 from St. Joseph, Mo. Their son, the uncle of the Society's new member, was William Wilson Van Arsdale, a graduate of the University of California with the class of 1874, who became influential in the lumber business, owning, besides, the Ridgewood Ranch in Mendocino County (see William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California*, San Francisco, 1895, p. 348). Howard Van Arsdale Smith spent two years at the state university, then entered the employ of the Standard Oil Co. of California. From January 1937 through August 1942, he was project superintendent for the restoration of Mission La Purisima Concepcion and has been interested likewise in the restoration of Mission San Fernando. Mr. Smith is an avocado grower in northern San Diego County, finding time also for botanizing trips in the mountains and deserts of that county, in search of unusual flora.

William E. Waste (b. Berkeley, July 31, 1897), son of the late Chief Justice William H. Waste of the California Supreme Court and graduate of the University of California, class of 1919, undertook upon graduation the responsibilities of office boy for the American Trading Company, operators of tramp steamers to Australia, New Zealand and Japan. From this lowly rung he has risen steadily to the responsibility of his present position of vice-president of Bechtel Corporation, world-wide engineering and construction firm, through proficiency in such immense projects as the Boulder Dam, the east bay piers of the San Francisco-Oakland bay bridge, the California Shipbuilding Corporation at Terminal Island near Los Angeles, and the Marinship Corporation at Sausalito.

Martin J. Weil, the son of A. L. and Florence Greenebaum Weil of Los Angeles, is a graduate of Stanford and of the Harvard Law School. He is also a lieutenant commander in the U. S. naval reserve, and during the last war saw service in the Marshall Islands. At present he is associated with his father in the practice of law in Los Angeles.

Well-known musical names find an important place in any biographical note on Mrs. Marie Williams (Mrs. James G.). Her maternal grandparents were Max and Katherine Homeier, arrivals of 1851—she as a singer and professional yodler, and he as a zither player and music teacher. Their son, Louis Homeier, became an orchestra leader whose name appears in the list of musical events in San Francisco in the 1880's (viz., *An Anthology of Music Criticism* [San Francisco: W. P. A., 1942], pp. 156-69, 426, 429, 439). Louis Homeier's sister was Mrs. Williams' mother, a native (1856) of Yankee Jim, Placer County. Preceding the family to California was Mrs. Williams' great uncle, Frantz Oettel, who went to Sonoma and became proprietor of the Union Hotel. Genius of another kind in Mrs. Williams' family contributed to the physical appearance of San Francisco, namely, through her husband, James G. Williams, who as a structural steel contractor was connected with work of this type on the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph and the Russ buildings, to mention two examples.

On October 12, 1949, at her residence in Orinda, Mrs. Wallace M. Alexander was at home to a large company of her friends, including several members of this Society, in honor of her father, Timothy Leonard Barker, and his associates on board the bark *Belvidere.* Just a hundred years ago, to the day, they arrived in San Francisco—"For the land we never saw before, must be our home," as a verse from the fiftieth-anniversary leaflet, which Mrs. Alexander had printed for that occasion, expressed it. At the 1949 celebration were to be seen a model of the ship; a painting of Mr. Barker, on loan from the collection of the Society of California Pioneers, of which he was a member; and a photostat of the *Belvidere's* passenger list, as it appeared in eastern papers on the date of sailing. The photostat was secured for Mrs. Alexander by Mr. James Moffitt, from the original clipping in the collection of the California Historical Society. Mr. Barker's companions on the voyage were: William M. Eddy, Hiram T. Grimes, Dr. W. A. Grover, Andrew J. Haight, and Worthington S. Lyon. Descendants now living are: Mrs. Helen Grover Burpee of Palo Alto, Herman Hall Eddy of Santa Barbara, and Harvey B. Lyon of Lafayette.

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Page 11, line 18, *for* Carlton *read* Carleton.

Facing page 128, in legend, *for* army *read* navy.

Page 162, line 2 from foot, *for* 27 *read* 159.

Page 184, line 9 from foot, *for* Edwin *read* Erwin.

Page 193, line 12 and 17, *for* Sainsevaine *read* Sainsevain; line 8 from foot, *for* W. H. *read* H. W.

Page 195, last line, *for* McDonegal *read* McDougal

Page 229, note 34, mistake in identification: Capt. Alden's reference is undoubtedly to Gen. Andrew Jackson. (The editor's thanks to Col. Fred B. Rogers for pointing this out.)

Page 324, line 5, *for* Edward *read* Edwin.

Page 338, line 7 from foot, *for* father *read* brother.

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